Haydn: The Symphonies (1-19)
The Philharmonia Hungarica conducted by Antal Dorati

SIDE ONE

SYMPHONY No. 1 in D major
1. Presto (4:52)
2. Andante (5:38)
3. Finale - Presto (2:00)

SYMPHONY No. 2 in C major
1. Allegro (3:21)
2. Andante (2:58)
3. Finale - Presto (2:36)

SIDE TWO

SYMPHONY No. 3 in G major
1. Allegro (5:14)
2. Andante moderato (6:15)
3. Menuet e Trio (3:07)
4. Finale - Alla breve (1:48)

SYMPHONY No. 4 in D major
1. Presto (4:00)
2. Andante (3:48)
3. Finale - Tempo di Menuetto (5:28)

SIDE THREE

SYMPHONY No. 5 in A major
1. Adagio ma non troppo (4:58)
2. Allegro (6:05)
3. Menuet e Trio (3:35)
4. Finale - Presto (1:37)

SYMPHONY No. 6 in D major - "Le Matin" (beginning)
1. Adagio - Allegro (5:43)
2. Adagio - Andante (8:00)

ERWIN RAMOR - solo violin, ZOLTÁN THIRRING - solo cello

SIDE FOUR

SYMPHONY No. 6 in D major - "Le Matin" (conclusion)
3. Menuet e Trio (4:39)
4. Finale - Allegro (4:47)

ERWIN RAMOR - solo violin, ZOLTÁN THIRRING - solo cello

SYMPHONY No. 7 in C major "Le Midi"
1. Adagio - Allegro (7:35)
2. Recitativo - Adagio (8:28)
3. Menuetto e Trio (3:31)
4. Finale - Allegro (3:52)

ERWIN RAMOR - first solo violin
JIRI GERLICH - second solo violin
ZOLTÁN THIRRING - solo cello
BÉLA LORANT - solo double-bass

SIDE FIVE

SYMPHONY No. 8 in G major - "Le Soir"
1. Allegro molto (5:23)
2. Andante (8:03)
3. Menuetto e Trio (4:37)
4. 'La Tempesta' - Presto (5:17)

ERWIN RAMOR - first solo violin
JIRI GERLICH - second solo violin
ZOLTÁN THIRRING - solo cello
BÉLA LORANT - solo double-bass
LÁSZLÓ BERANYAI - solo bassoon

Booklet Cover: Haydn's birthplace in Rohrau, Lower Austria, oil-painting, unsigned

SIDE SIX

SYMPHONY No. 9 in C major
1. Allegro molto (4:12)
2. Andante (5:04)
3. Finale - Menuetto - Allegretto (3:14)

SYMPHONY No. 10 in D major
1. Allegro (5:09)
2. Andante (4:42)
3. Finale - Presto (3:07)

SIDE SEVEN

SYMPHONY No. 11 in E flat major
1. Adagio cantabile (7:33)
2. Allegro (3:18)
3. Menuet e Trio (4:05)
4. Finale - Presto (3:28)

SIDE EIGHT

SYMPHONY No. 12 in E major
1. Allegro (5:51)
2. Adagio (6:42)
3. Finale - Presto (4:04)

SIDE NINE

SYMPHONY No. 13 in D major
1. Allegro molto (5:18)
2. Adagio cantabile (6:18)
3. Menuet e Trio (5:10)
4. Finale - Allegro molto (4:34)

SIDE TEN

SYMPHONY No. 14 in A major
1. Allegro molto (3:50)
2. Andante (3:43)
3. Menuetto e Trio - Allegretto (4:13)
4. Finale - Allegro (2:58)

SYMPHONY No. 15 in D major
1. Adagio - Presto - Adagio (6:05)
2. Menuet e Trio (5:10)
3. Andante (4:35)
4. Finale - Presto (2:20)

SIDE ELEVEN

SYMPHONY No. 16 in B flat major
1. Allegro (4:23)
2. Andante non troppo (5:12)
3. Finale - Presto (3:03)

SYMPHONY No. 17 in F major
1. Allegro (5:02)
2. Andante, ma non troppo (6:20)
3. Finale - Allegro molto (3:25)

SIDE TWELVE

SYMPHONY No. 18 in G major
1. Andante moderato (6:52)
2. Allegro molto (4:53)
3. Tempo di Menuet (4:20)

SYMPHONY No. 19 in D major
1. Allegro molto (5:20)
2. Andante (4:26)
3. Presto (2:48)

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Antal Dorati.

Antal Dorati

Antal Dorati was born in Budapest in 1906, and his parents, both musicians, recognised his talents and sent him at the age of fourteen to the Academy of Music in Budapest. His teachers were Zoltan Kodály, Béla Bartók and Leo Weiner. He graduated at eighteen as composer, pianist and conductor, and was the youngest person in the history of the Academy to receive a degree.

Soon after, he was appointed conductor of the Royal Opera House in Budapest, where he worked for four years. In 1928 he went to Dresden as the assistant of Fritz Busch. Between 1928 and 1933 he was principal conductor of the Opera House in Munster, at the same time appearing as guest conductor at several other Opera Houses in Germany, and with orchestras in many major musical centres.

In 1934 he joined the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo, and seven years later was appointed Musical Director of the Ballet Theatre. Meanwhile in 1937 he made his American debut as a symphonic conductor at an all-Beethoven concert with the National Symphony Orchestra of Washington D.C., and during 1939–40 made an extensive tour of Australia. Returning to the States, Dorati became Director of the New Opera Company in New York.

In 1945 he left the Ballet Theatre and was charged with the organisation of the Dallas Symphony Orchestra, and in 1949 he became Musical Director of the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra, and during his eleven years with them, he was responsible for numerous commissions, world premieres, and American premieres of important works.

From 1963 to 1966 Antal Dorati was Chief Conductor to the BBC Symphony Orchestra, and took the orchestra on a tour of Switzerland in October 1964, and the United States in the Spring of 1965. He has also made a return to opera, and conducts guest performances at Covent Garden, London, the Wiener Staatsoper, the Opera House, Rome, the Hamburg Opera and Maggio Musicale in Florence. He is now principal conductor of the Stockholm Philharmonic Orchestra and with him the orchestra made its first tour of the United States in 1968 with such success that a return tour was arranged for 1970. In October 1970, Antal Dorati was appointed chief conductor of the National Symphony Orchestra, Washington D.C., in addition to his commitments with the Stockholm orchestra.

When the Philharmonia Hungarica was formed in Vienna in 1957, from refugee musicians who had fled Hungary during the 1956 revolution, Antal Dorati was one of the orchestra's first conductors. He made several recordings with them during this period, so that the London project of recording the complete Haydn symphonies with Dorati and the Philharmonia Hungarica represents the renewal of a long-standing association.

Philharmonia Hungarica

Among the hundreds of thousands of refugees who left their home country during the Hungarian Revolution in the late Autumn of 1956 were many musicians, who set out for the free world with their instruments as their only possessions. It was yet another instance of the tragic tradition of the Hungarian history of culture, which, over two decades ago, Béla Bartók summed up in these poignant words: ". . . One must get away from here, no matter where to . . .".

From among these exiled musicians, who, almost without exception, came from the leading Hungarian Symphony Orchestras – as for example the Hungarian National Philharmonia, the Budapest Radio Orchestra and State Opera Orchestra – the Philharmonia Hungarica was formed in Vienna, in the Spring of 1957, thanks to the spontaneous and generous assistance of several philanthropic organizations, mainly the Congress for the Freedom of Culture, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the International Rescue Committee and the Swiss Committee for Aid to the Freedom Fighters of Hungary.

Soon the artists resumed their serious artistic work, which, in a very short time, assured a leading place for this ensemble in the international music world.

The enthusiastic approval met with again and again by them during their many tours in Europe and North America, as well as during musical festivals, is a proof of the importance and vitality of this orchestra.

It is all to the credit of the cultural policy of the Federal German Republic, the regions of North Rhine-Westphalia and the city of Marl, to have recognized the unique value of the Philharmonia Hungarica, and, through generous financial assistance, to have assured the continued existence of an internationally appreciated orchestra.

Many of the members of the Orchestra are winners of valuable music prizes and have successfully taken part in international music competitions. The Ramor Quartet, consisting of instrumentalists from the string sections, gained first prize in the Geneva International Music Competition in 1957, and in 1962 the same prize was awarded to the Wind Quintet of the Philharmonia Hungarica.

Several of the members of the Philharmonia Hungarica were attracted to the career of soloist, others distinguished themselves through invitations to perform with renowned European and American Orchestras. And yet they all resolved, out of a sense of artistic integrity and patriotism, to remain loyal to the commitment of their own orchestra.

As an instance of the reputation enjoyed by the Orchestra with international audiences and press, let me quote the words which a Greek critic wrote on the occasion of a series of concerts at the 1962 Athens International Festival: "Our country – Music! That is the message of religious and patriotic faith one almost hears at a performance of the Philharmonia Hungarica. One also gets the impression that these men and women, who were forced to leave their country against their will, have brought with them, and preserved, not only the music, but – a particle of their home country!"

Notes on Symphonies 1-19 by H. C. Robbins Landon

It is now well known that the 107 symphonies of Haydn are not in strict chronological order. The great Austrian scholar, Eusebius von Mandyczewski, assembled his list of 104 symphonies in 1907, in connection with the opening volumes (Symphonies Nos. 1 – 40) of the Breitkopf & Härtel *Gesamtausgabe,* planned to coincide with the centenary celebrations for Haydn's death in 1909. Mandyczewski left out three works, a lost Symphony in D (known to us from Haydn's thematic *Entwurf-Katalog*, about which more will be said *infra*) and two other works which he believed were, respectively, a string Quartet (Opus 1, No.5) and a *Divertimento* or *Partita* in B-flat – both works which modern scholarship has rightly restored to Haydn's symphonic *oeuvre*. As for the chronological order, Mandyczewski used such autographs as were then available (almost all Haydn's autographs are dated), and with other information – mainly the famous Breitkopf Catalogues – he put together a list, the chronological principle of which, as he stated in his foreword, was not to date a work too early. Since 1907, much new information has come to light, even to the rediscovery of dated Haydn autographs. One such manuscript is Symphony No. 40, which Mandyczewski had placed *c.* 1770 on the basis of a manuscript dated 1770 in Göttweig Abbey on the Danube. Subsequently the dated autograph turned up and showed that the work had been written in 1763 which meant that it ought to have been inserted in Mandyczewski's list together with Nos. 12 and 13.

The principal sources for dating Haydn's earlier Symphonies are: (1) the autographs, such as have survived; (2) dated contemporary copies and entries in catalogues, such as the Breitkopf Catalogues, which were issued almost every year of 1762 to 1787 and which offered for sale MS. and printed copies of the latest music of all *genres*; (3) the period of entry in Haydn's so-called *Entwurf-Katalog*, a running draft catalogue with incipits which the composer began about 1765 and kept till the end of the century or even to about 1805; the entries are sometimes sporadic and often in blocks. But by using dated autographs and other evidence, we can date fairly precisely the various blocks in the *Entwurf-Katalog*. Unfortunately the first pages are missing, and they contained all the early symphonies, entered into the catalogue by Haydn's copyist, Joseph Elssler (whose son Johann was also to be Haydn's principal music copyist). We know this because the page with which *EK* now begins contains the last entry of this large symphonic group (as it happens, the sixth and final work of a group of six miniature symphonies which are entitled *Scherzandi* on most contemporary manuscripts). The situation with regard to the symphonies included in this album is a chronological spectrum ranging from about 1759 to 1763. The following table will, therefore, place the symphonies in chronological rather than numerical order.

Date of composition	*Number*	*Remarks*
c. 1759-60	1-5,10,11, 15,18	After world War II, an old collection of musical manuscripts from the Library of Counts Festetics in Keszthely Castle was deposited in the National Library at Budapest, which institution also houses the Esterházy Archives. When preparing the first critical edition of Haydn's symphonies, which is used for this recording, the writer of these notes ordered microfilms of this Festetics Collection, which included *inter alia* a whole series of early Haydn symphonies, the copies of which were stamped with the signature of a "Fürnberg Obrist Lieut". It was clear that we were dealing with a member of the family for which Haydn wrote his first string quartets in Weinzierl Castle near Melk (Lower Austria). (It is now thought that it was about 1757 that Haydn composed these quartets for Carl Joseph Edler von Fürnberg at Weinzierl.) In 1759 Haydn was engaged as music director to Count Morzin, who had a pretty summer castle at Lukavec in Bohemia. As is well known, Haydn wrote his first symphonies for Morzin. It was not known, however, exactly which symphonies Haydn composed at Lukavec, though the composer himself always maintained that what we know as Symphony No.1 was actually his first work in the form. The newly discovered collection from Lieut.- Col. von Fürnberg proved to be a sensation. (1) It was a series of works, obviously by a number of Viennese professional copyists, some of whose hands were already well known to us. The copies all appeared – on the evidence of the paper and watermarks – to be very early, perhaps as early as about 1760. (2) It soon became clear that Haydn himself supervised this series; he made small corrections and one major change (in the horn parts of No. 11's opening movement). (3) It soon developed that the Festetics Collection also owned a whole series of Haydn's very earliest quartets, also with holograph corrections by Haydn himself. (These new quartet sources were the basis of the early works printed in the Collected Edition of Haydn's Quartets currently being published by Faber Music, edited by the present writer and Reginald Barrett-Ayres; the edition will be recorded by the Aeolian Quartet for Argo Records, beginning in 1973). Thus the new symphony series was able to establish (1) which symphonies Haydn wrote for Lukavec, i.e. between about 1757 (when he probably began writing symphonies) and May 1761 (when he went to Eisenstadt as *Vice-Capellmeister* to Prince Esterházy); the series cannot have been prepared much later than May 1761, because there is no work included in the MSS. which is known to have been composed after Haydn started to compose for Eisenstadt; (2) it established the textual basis for all these early symphonies. The trumpet and timpani parts of No. 33, which are not always present in early sources, are included in the Furnberg MS. and are thus indisputably genuine; conversely, Symphony No.37, which exists in one important MS. with trumpets and timpani, is scored in the Fürnberg MS. only for oboes, horns and strings. The Fürnberg symphony MSS. include Nos. 1-5, 10, 11, 15, 18, 27, 32, 33, 37 and 'A' (I: 107) and these are Haydn's earliest works in the form, composed for the Morzin family at Lukavec Castle or in Vienna, where the Count spent the winter. It will be seen that as a result of this discovery, the chronological order of Haydn's first forty symphonies has been rendered rather chaotic. No. 27 is found on page one of the *Entwurf-Katalog*, where it was added in Haydn's hand. There are also numbers that Haydn gave to these entries which are quite revealing. The *EK* starts with what is probably page five of the original numbering, and thus the Lukavec symphonies are mostly missing. The first entry is the last of six so-called *Scherzandi*, miniature symphonies that Haydn included among his larger works in the form. Scherzando No.6 is in Joseph Elssler's hand but with Haydn's "N 20" over it. No.27, the next entry, is marked "N 12" (thus it belonged to a much earlier group). The third entry, the *incipit* of No.29 (composed in 1765), is marked "N 40". The *EK* entries for Nos. 32 and 33 are of no chronological interest because they come in sections which were compiled much later, in one case as late as the early nineteenth century when Haydn was preparing his big thematic catalogue known as *HV (Haydn-Verzeichnis).*
c. 1760-1	19	It is not necessarily true that the so-called "Fürnberg-Morzin" symphonies were composed for Lukavec. Haydn's first opera, *Der krumme Teufel*, was performed in Vienna in 1759 and the Fürnberg MSS. include absolutely all the symphonies Haydn wrote for Count Morzin at Lukavec Castle. It is, for example, possible that Symphonies Nos. 19 and 'B' (I: 108) are also works that should be included among the Morzin compositions. No.19 was entered in *EK* at a late date, while "B" is not in *EK* at all; both were no doubt part of the missing opening part of the catalogue which contained all Haydn's early symphonies. The earliest reference to No. 19 is the Breitkopf Catalogue of 1766 (compare No. 20 in the Decca series, also a transitional work first known from the Breitkopf Catalogue of 1766 – see Symphonies 20-35, page 7). Symphony "B" is not in *EK* at all, but Haydn remembered it when compiling the *HV* in 1805 and it figures as No.7 of *HV*. Otherwise its first dated reference is 1765, in Göttweig Abbey.
1761	6-8	The famous trilogy which Haydn composed for Prince Paul Anton Esterházy, who is said to have suggested Haydn to his new *Vice-Capellmeister* (we have this information from Haydn's biographer, Dies). Haydn was engaged in May 1761, and No. 7 has survived in autograph and is dated 1761.
c. 1761-2	16,17	No. 16 is missing in *EK* but is included in *HV* as No. 12; its earliest preserved source is in the Benedictine Abbey of Göttweig, dated 1766. No. 17, added later in *EK* – both works obviously belonged to the lost opening pages – is first known to us from two German catalogues of 1766: Breitkopf and the Hohenzollern Castle of Sigmaringen. Both are probably early works for Prince Esterházy.
1762	9	The autograph, dated 1762, was formerly owned by Artaria & Co., Vienna, Haydn's publishers. It has since disappeared. A set of parts dated 1766 is owned by Göttweig.
c. 1762-3	14	Not in *EK*, No. 14's authenticity is assured by a set of authentic parts, copied by Joseph Elssler and sent to Dr. Stocker in Linz (now owned by the Augustine Abbey of St. Florian), and also by the fact that Haydn included it in *HV* as No. 8. It was copied by Pater Leander at Göttweig Abbey in 1764 and was probably one of the first works after Nos. 6-8 that Haydn wrote in Eisenstadt.
1763	12,13	Dated autographs, both in the Esterházy Archives at Budapest.

Haydn's first important position was as music director and chamber composer to Count Ferdinand Maximilian Morzin, who kept an orchestra at Lukavec Castle near Pilsen; it was Carl Joseph Fürnberg who had recommended Haydn to Morzin. Unfortunately we know nothing of the orchestra members, and nothing about Haydn's circumstances at Lukavec except that he received (as he himself related in later years) the salary of 200 Gulden with board, lodging and *Naturalien* (candles, meat, and so on). In recent years, however, many compositions of the Lukavec period have come to light, particularly in Czechoslovakian archives. It turns out that Haydn wrote several kinds of music at Lukavec – not only symphonies but also a large number of works, mostly sextets, for wind band. It seems that the cultivation of wind band music (it was called, in German, *Harmonie-Musique*) and a Bohemian specialty which at once attracted the young and versatile Haydn, who composed avidly in this new and then exotic medium. The experience he gained thereby proved invaluable for his understanding of wind instruments – their individual colours and the peculiar problems of ensemble which arise when a group of them plays together. Another interesting product of the Morzin years is a *Divertimento* in F (Hoboken 11:16) for two violins, two *cors anglais,* two bassoons and two horns, perhaps the first recorded use of English horns in Haydn's music; it was to become an instrument peculiarly associated with the composer, much as the clarinet was to be inseparably connected with Mozart. In Haydn's Symphony No. 22 we have an extraordinary example of his use of *cors anglais.*

Although we have no list of orchestral members for the Morzin *Capelle* we have, in the extant compositions of the period, an accurate idea of its constitution (though not, of course, the size of the strings). The *Harmonie-Musique* consisted of oboes or *cors anglais,* bassoons and horns; there were no flutes in the *Capelle.* Apart from the *Harmonie-Musique*, Haydn also had at his disposal two trumpets and kettledrums, which he used, at this period, exclusively in festive works in the key of C major; Nos. 32 and 33 are known to be Morzin works with this enlarged orchestration.

The dates of Haydn's tenure as *Musicdirector und Kammercompositor* to Count Morzin are also vague. The authentic biography by G.A. Greisinger (who saw a good deal of Haydn from 1799 to 1809) gives 1759 as the date of the composer's engagement and 1759 as the date of Symphony No. 1. Yet in recent years, a copy of Symphony No. 37 in the Archives of the Princes of Schwarzenberg, Castle Böhmisch Krumau (Český Krumlov), has been discovered which is clearly dated "1758" on the titlepage; and No.37 is also one of the works in the collection of Lieut.-Col. von Fürnberg and is thus a Lukavec (or rather a Morzin) symphony. When delivering material about his early compositions to Breitkopf & Härtel (through Griesinger), Haydn thought that he began composing symphonies about 1757, a date which would accord with the evidence of the Schwarzenberg copy of Symphony No. 37 – it generally took at least a year for copies of Haydn's newest symphonies to circulate to the Austro-Hungarian provinces. Perhaps Morzin really engaged Haydn in 1757.

Nor do we know the terminal date. The count is said not to have allowed the members of his *Capelle* to marry; when Haydn made the dire mistake of marrying Maria Anna Keller (daughter of a wigmaker, who was the brother of a violinist in St. Stephan's Cathedral when Haydn had been a chorister) at St. Stephan's on 26 November 1760, are we to assume that Count Morzin had already dismissed his band? The sources tell us that he was forced to do so for financial reasons.

It seems unlikely that the prudent Haydn would have married secretly; perhaps he received a special dispensation from the Count. Haydn had in fact fallen in love with the younger daughter of Keller, but she had taken the veil in 1756. The composer had taught her music and seems to have been beholden to the family altogether, for Keller persuaded him – Griesinger says "auf dringendes Zurenden des Friseurs und aus Dankbarkeit gegen ihm" (at the insistent persuasion of the wigmaker and because of obligation to him) – to marry the eldest daughter, three years his senior. It was a disastrous marriage. We will sum it up in the shocked words of a Swedish visitor to Haydn after the first public performance of *The Creation* at Vienna in 1799. The visitor went to call on Haydn found the composer out but his wife in; the conversation fell on *The Creation*; in hideous Viennese dialect Maria Anna *née* Keller said, "People say it's very good; I wouldn't know". The Swedish visitor concluded that "she was neither educated nor musical". Haydn came "and his wife trotted off, surrounded by her dogs and cats . . . ".

We support it was in the autumn of 1760 that Morzin decided to abandon his very expensive orchestra; perhaps they continued in his service until Easter 1761. The Count spent the winters in Vienna, and it was probably there that Prince Paul Anton Esterházy heard a concert of Haydn's. In the Eisenstadt catalogues, we note that as early as 1760, a new Haydn symphony was acquired. At any rate, as soon as Haydn was free, Prince Esterházy engaged him, as *Vice-Capellmeister*, in May 1761. Haydn was to receive 400 Gulden, or twice that which he had received from Count Morzin, and the usual other benefits. The contract reads as follows:

This day (according to the date hereto appended) Joseph Heyden (sic), native of Rohrau in Austria, is accepted and appointed (Vice-Capellmeister in the service of his Serene Highness Prince Paul Anton, Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, of Eszterháza and Galantha, etc., subject to conditions here following:–

1. Whereas the Capellmeister at Eisenstadt, namely Gregorious Werner, having devoted many years of true and faithful service to the Princely house, is now, on account of his great age and infirmities, unfit to perform the duties incumbent on him, it is hereby declared that the said Gregorious Werner, in consideration of his long services, shall retain the post of Capellmeister, and the said Joseph Heyden as Vice-Capellmeister shall, so far as regards the music of the choir, be subordinate to the Capellmeister and receive his instructions. But in everything else relating to musical performances, and in all that concerns the orchestra, the Vice-Capellmeister shall have the sole direction.

2. The said Joseph Heyden shall be considered and treated as a member of the household. Therefore his Serene Highness is graciously pleased to place confidence in his conducting himself as becomes an honourable official of a princely house. He must be temperate, not showing himself overbearing towards his musicians, but mild and lenient, straightforward and composed. It is especially to be observed that when the orchestra shall be summoned to perform before company, the Vice-Capellmeister and all the musicians shall appear in uniform and the said Joseph Heyden shall take care that he and all the members of his orchestra follow the instructions given, and appear in white stockings, white linen, powdered and with either a queue or a tiewig.

3. Whereas the other musicians are referred for directions to the said Vice-Capellmeister, he shall therefore take the more care to conduct himself in an exemplary manner, abstaining from undue familiarity and from vulgarity in eating, drinking and conversation, not dispensing with the respect due to him, but acting uprightly and influencing his subordinates to preserve such harmony as is becoming in them, remembering how displeasing the consequences of any discord or dispute would be to his Serene Highness.

4. The said Vice-Capellmeister shall be under obligation to compose such music as his Serene Highness may command, and neither to communicate such compositions to any other person, nor to allow them to be copied, but he shall retain them for the absolute use of his Highness, and not compose for any other person without the knowledge and permission of his Highness.

5. The said Joseph Heyden shall appear daily in the antechamber before and after midday, and inquire whether his Highness is pleased to order a performance of the orchestra. On receipt of his orders he shall communicate them to the other musicians, and take care to be punctual at the appointed time, and to ensure punctuality in his subordinates, making a note of those who arrive late or absent themselves altogether.

6. Should any quarrel or cause of complaint arise, the Vice-Capellmeister shall endeavour to arrange it in order that his Serene Highness may not be incommoded with trifling disputes; but should any more serious difficulty occur, which the said Joseph Heyden is unable to set right, his Serene Highness must then be respectfully called upon to decide the matter.

7. The said Vice-Capellmeister shall take careful charge of all music and musical instruments, and be responsible for any injury that may occur to them from carelessness or neglect.

8. The said Joseph Heyden shall be obliged to instruct the female vocalists, in order that they may not forget the country that which they have been taught with much effort and expense in Vienna, and, as the said Vice-Capellmeister is proficient on various instruments, he shall take care himself to practice on all with which he is acquainted.

9. A copy of this agreement and instructions shall be given to the said Vice-Capellmeister and his subordinates, in order that he may be able to hold them to their obligations, therein established.

10. It is considered unnecessary to set forth in detail the services required of the said Joseph Heyden, more particularly since his Serene Highness is pleased to hope that of his own free will he would strictly observe not only these regulations, but all others that may from time to time be made by his Highness, and that he will place the orchestra on such a footing, and in such good order, that he may bring honour upon himself and deserve the further favour of the Prince his master, who thus confides in his zeal and discretion.

11. A yearly salary of four hundred florins (Gulden) to be received in quarterly payments is hereby bestowed by his Serene Highness upon the said Vice-Capellmeister.

12. In addition, the said Joseph Heyden shall board at the officers' table, or receive a half-Gulden per day in lieu thereof.

13. Finally this agreement shall hold good for at least three years from May 1, 1761, with the further condition that if at the conclusion of this term the said Joseph Heyden shall desire to leave the service, he shall give his Highness six months' previous notice of his intention.

14. His Serene Highness undertakes to keep Joseph Heyden in his service during this time, and should he be satisfied with him, he may look forward to being appointed Capellmeister. This, however, must not be understood to deprive his Serene Highness of the right to dismiss the said Joseph Heyden at the expiration of the term, should he see fit to do so.

Duplicate copies of this document shall be executed and exchanged. Given at Vienna this first day of May, 1761.

Ad mandatum Celissimi Principis Johann Stiffel, Secret.

This remarkable document has, of course, been the subject of endless discussion, social, musical, and in recent years, political: in eastern European countries it is, as one might expect, cited as the perfect example of Capitalistic exploitation of the artist. Without wishing to enter into a Marxist debate on the subject, we would nevertheless observe that as far as Haydn was concerned, he obtained a security from the Esterházy family which enabled him to retire, as an old man, in comfort. Not only did Haydn later witness Mozart's shameful poverty and death, but he could also observe the fate of one of his contemporaries, Carl Ditters (later von Dittersdorf), with whom – precisely at this period – Haydn was on friendly terms. The two men, both respected composers in the early 1760s, often listened to music by other masters. "About each new piece", relates Dittersdorf in his autobiography, "that we heard by other composers, we made our judgement *tête-à-tête*; we approved of that which was good and objected to that which required objections". Dittersdorf rose high; he was even raised to the nobility; but that did not prevent him dying in utter poverty, his desk drawer full of symphonies, quartets and harpsichord music that no one would purchase or perform, in an obscure Bohemian village in 1799. He and his family were the guests of a sympathetic Count who literally prevented this once world-famous composer from dying of starvation. With a sure sense of what might one day be his similar fate, Haydn became a great diplomat, the ideal go-between in a situation which in another man's hands, might have been explosive. (Consider Beethoven's having to organise a similar position . . .) Haydn won the hearts of his musicians and the respect of the Prince. In only one respect did he fail, and that was in the case of the crotchety old Gregor Werner who, as an Establishment composer of severe church music, had perhaps forgotten his own youth when he, too, had written gay secular music and popular organ concertos. To a man of Werner's ideas, Haydn's modern music was complete frippery and frivolry; the old man described his hated *Vice-Capellmeister* as "a mere fop", "a scribbler of songs" (in Austrian dialect *G'sanglmacher*). Just before the angry and jealous Werner died, he wrote a letter to the Prince "from his sick-bed" dated October 1765, in which he accused Haydn of lack of discipline, of a chaotic condition of the music in the choir loft, of the instruments' neglect (Werner even suggests that some had been pilfered), and so forth. It is an appalling document. It called forth a stern reprimand from the Prince – who was now Nicolaus I "The Magnificent", he having succeeded his brother Prince Paul Anton upon the latter's death in 1762. "Finally", reads the reprimand, "*Capel Meister* Haydn is urgently enjoined to apply himself to composition more diligently than heretofore, and especially to write such pieces as can be played on the gamba (baryton), of which pieces we have seen very few up to now; and to be able to judge his diligence, he shall at all times send us the first copy, cleanly and carefully written, of each and every new composition." Haydn rejoined in a characteristically subtle way: by the *Entwurf-Katalog,* to which constant reference has been made in these notes. It showed in a dramatic way that Haydn had, by October 1765, written a very large amount of music for the court at Eisenstadt, also including many baryton works. But being a diplomat, Haydn immediately dashed off some more baryton trios, and on 4 January 1766, Prince Nicolaus writes from Eszterháza Castle to his Estates Manager von Rahier: ". . . This very moment I received 3 pieces from Hayden (sic), and I am very satisfied with them. You will therefore see that he gets 12 ducats from the cashier's office in my name; tell him at the same time to write 6 more pieces similar to those he sent me, and also 2 solo pieces, and to see that they are sent here at once . . ." By the time Werner died, on 5 March 1766, Haydn's diplomacy had won the day and he was promoted to full *Capellmeister.*

Prince Paul Esterhazy, Haydn's first patron, had travelled widely through Italy and Germany and had amassed a large collection of foreign music, especially French vocal music and Italian instrumental music (including works like Vivaldi's *Seasons*). He played the violin and violoncello and took an active interest in the *Capelle,* of which Werner had been *Capellmeister* since 1728. As early as 1759, the Prince had engaged new musicians and also sent his leader, Luigi Tomasini, on a study trip to Venice. When Haydn was appointed, the orchestra was again enlarged; in 1761 the regular instrumental group consisted of one flute, two oboes, two bassoons, two horns, three violins and violoncello. There was, moreover, a church *Capelle* which included, apart from the singers, a couple of violins, a violoncello and a double bass. Many of the players were proficient on other instruments also; two new horn players were engaged in 1763, both of whom could play string bass instruments as well. The musicians were generally resident at Eisenstadt from 1761 to 1765, though occasionally they were transported to one of the princely lordships elsewhere. In the autumn of 1764, the whole *Capelle* was taken to the pretty Castle at Kittsee, owned by the Esterházy family, which was across the river from Pressburg (Bratislava, ČSSR). The harpsichord at Kittsee was in ill repair and the organ-builder from Pressburg had to come and adjust it, "for which I paid him two Gulden", wrote Haydn on 20 Nov. 1764.

Musical concerts at Eisenstadt were held by the entire orchestra on Tuesdays and Saturdays from two to four o'clock in the afternoon. "All the musicians are to appear". As long as Werner was alive, Haydn wisely concentrated on symphonic music, only occasionally venturing to compose vocal music (such as various cantatas for Nicolaus's name-day, 6 December, of which several have survived from the years 1763 and 1764). Haydn sometimes played the violin and sometimes conducted from the harpsichord, giving himself an elaborate solo part in the Esterházy Cantata "Qual dubbio" of 1764. The disposition of the scores for Symphonies Nos. 6–8, the first which Haydn wrote at Eisenstadt in 1761, shows that he required at least three first and three second violins, two violas, two cellos and one double bass (possibly two). He had the possibility of recruiting musicians from the local Parish Church of St. Martin, and also from the town of *Thurnermeister*; but in the period 1761-5, Haydn never seems to have required trumpets and drums at Eisenstadt except in an occasional work for the church (such as the *Te Deum* for Prince Nicolaus) and the odd C major symphony. By 1763 there were four rather than two horns, and we shall note the first time Haydn uses all four instruments in Symphony No. 13 (*vide infra*).

When Haydn required copies of his Morzin symphonies for Lieut.-Col. von Fürnberg, he used the services of various Viennese copyists, some of whom were so accurate that Haydn continued to employ them until the middle of the 1770s. Whether these over-worked gentlemen were always scrupulously honest is another matter. Mozart tells how one of the professional copyists wrote everything by Haydn double. "I really have (Haydn's) latest symphonies", he writes to his father on 15 May 1784 – obviously before he knew Haydn personally. As the Rohrau composer became increasingly famous, the Viennese copyists began to establish a profitable business in selling illegal copies of Haydn symphonies – often from an authentic set of parts which served as the "blueprint" to to anyone who would pay a few Gulden. Haydn himself soon realized that the professional copyists were making a fortune out of his music, and he must have pointed out to Prince Esterházy that (1) there was nothing a composer could do against pirated copies or even pirated prints and (2) it would be better to let Haydn himself do the selling, even if this violated the stipulation that the Prince was to be the sole owner of all his *Capellmeister's* products. It seems clear that Prince Nicolaus soon allowed Haydn a certain leeway in selling official copies of his symphonies, particularly if they were a few years old and not in the Eisenstadt repertoire any longer. Thus we find Haydn selling copies of Symphonies 14, 21 and 29 to Dr. Stocker from Linz, from whose legacy they were acquired by the St. Florian Monastery in Upper Austria; the copies were made by Joseph Elssler, Haydn's copyist at this period.

The Austrian monasteries were great collectors of Haydn's symphonies. Göttweig Abbey owned (or owns) copies of Nos. 1, 3 (lost), 4 (lost), 5, 9, 11 (lost), 12, 13 (lost), 16, 17 and 19 (lost). The Benedictine Monastery of Lambach in Upper Austria owned (or owns) copies of Nos. 1 (lost), 2, 13, 14, 15, 18 (lost) and 19 (lost). Both Göttweig and Lambach kept accurate thematic catalogues of their large music collections, from which we can see that, alas, both monasteries owned many Haydn works that have disappeared in the course of time. (Perhaps the most tantalizing item in the Göttweig Catalogue is the

entry for Haydn's lost violin Concerto in D, the theme of which is also known to us from *EK*. Perhaps even now the only possibly extant source to this work is somewhere in the cellars of Göttweig, awaiting discovery.) The Augustinian Monastery of St. Florian owns Nos. 1, 3, 4, 10, 11, 14, 15 and 16, while the great Benedictine Abbey of Melk owns Nos. 3, 4, 5, 12, 13, 14, and 16. The interesting thing about these Haydn collections in the Austrian monasteries is that the symphonies in question were not evenly distributed – except for very popular works such as No. 3. Of all the known Austrian monasteries, only the Benedictine Abbey of Seitenstetten (Upper Austria) owns a copy of Symphony No. 19 (they also have copies of Nos. 16 and 17). On the other hand, there were some of Haydn's symphonies, such as the trilogy Nos. 6 – 8 and No. 18, which were hardly distributed in the monasteries at all. (The only monastery copies of Nos. 6 – 8 are chronologically late MSS., acquired towards the end of the century.)

Even these very early symphonies soon travelled to northern Italy and especially Venice. The Biblioteca Marciana contains several textually valuable sets of Haydn's symphonies made by local copyists from Austrian sources (even to the copying of the German word "Pausen" for rests). One set of "XII Sinfonie Del Sigr Giuseppe Haydn" contains Nos. 2, 27, 1, 18, 9, 3, 5, 19, 37, 25, 33 and 4, while another manuscript, entitled "VI Sinfonie Del Sigr Giuseppe Haydn", contains Nos. 11, 23, a doubtful symphony (I C: 19), 10, 5 and 3. The trilogy Nos. 6 – 8 was also known in Venice. The great Giustiniani Collection, now in the Venice Conservatory of Music, includes "IL MATTINO, IL MEZZODI, E LA SERA/Tre Sinfonie . . . Del Sigr Giuseppe Haydn". Indeed almost all Haydn's early symphonies were known to the Venetian aristocracy in rather reliable local MSS. (in which, oddly enough, only the trumpets and timpani parts were regularly omitted).

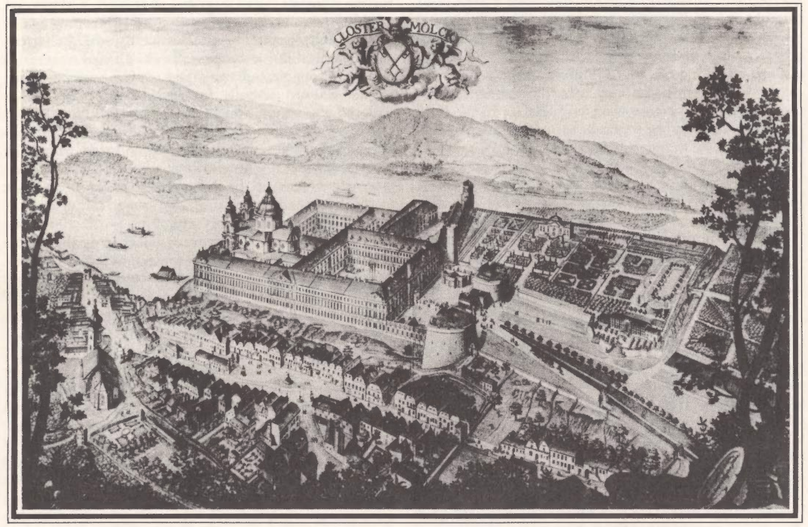
The great German princely houses at Regensburg (Thurn und Taxis) and Harburg or Wallerstein (Oettingem-Wallerstein) also ordered most of Haydn's latest symphonies from Viennese copyists. The collection at Harburg Castle owns Nos. 1, 3, 11, 12, 13, 16 and 17; while Regensburg has Nos. 3, 4, 5, 8, 9 and 14 (curious: only No. 3 is owned by both houses – perhaps at this stage, the princely houses and perhaps also the monasteries were jealous of their "new" Haydn symphonies and took care that neighbouring establishments did not have them).

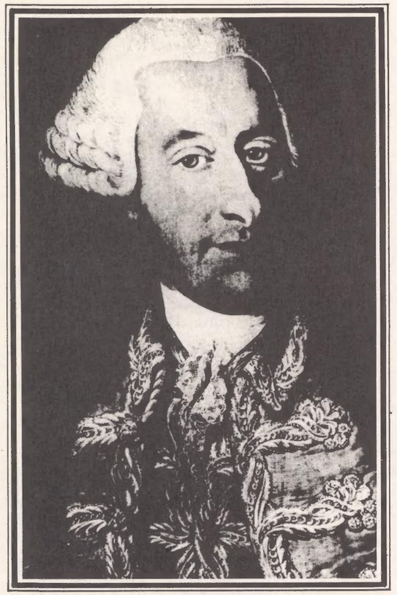
Readers of the notes to the other albums of this series will recall that Haydn was soon an immensely popular composer in France; that in Paris his latest symphonies and quartets were eagerly printed; and that such a brisk business in Haydn came into being that it proved profitable for those French publishers to pirate all sorts of spurious works by *seguaci* of Haydn's such as Ditters(dorf), Ordoñez, Leopold Hofmann, Vanhal and especially Haydn's talented brother, Johann Michael, first (c. 1757-61) Chapel Master at Grosswardein (now Oradea Mare in Roumania) and after 1763 *Conzertmeister* in Salzburg. All these spurious works were sold to the French public as genuine Haydn, who of course saw no royalties either from these spurious products or from his own pirated French publications. It was in January 1764 that "Six Symphonies ou Quatuors Dialogués . . . Composés par Mr Hayd'en (sic) Maître de Musique à Vienne" published by M. de la Chevardière, created a sensation in the Parisian musical world; they were Haydn's first string quartets. Chevardière immediately followed with further sets of Haydn's music, which he probably obtained from Viennese copyists or travelling virtuoso musicians: his second gathering was "Six Sonates en Trio pour deux violons & basse" (1765) followed by another set of "Six Symphonies ou Quatuor (sic) Dialogués" (1766) which included string quartets, a sextet with two horns (Hoboken II; 21) and a spurious *Divertimento* by Carlos d'Ordoñez.

The first Haydn Symphony to be published in Paris was No. 2, issued in March 1764 by Venier as part of a series, mostly by composers then little known in Paris, but which Venier cleverly described as by "Noms inconnus, bons à connaitre". The only copy of this Venier print is in the Conservatoire de Musique, Paris, and is entitled (as part of Venier's series) "Sinfonia XIV/Del Sigr. Heyden". The extant parts are only for strings, but the title page tells us that Les parties de Cors de Chasse, Hautbois, Flutes et Bassoons y seront comprises, mais le plus souvent d'elles ad Libitum"; so perhaps Haydn's oboe and horn parts were printed by Venier but have not survived.

At this very early period, it is entirely likely that Haydn was in total ignorance of this flourishing publishing activity with his compositions in Paris; certainly it is hardly possible that he supplied the manuscripts for any of these publications of 1764. But the Parisian houses obviously had their agents in Vienna – no doubt among the professional Viennese copyists who sent to Paris everything by Haydn they could lay their hands on, and also anything that sounded faintly like Haydn.

View of the monastery of Melk (Watercolour) Nationalbibliothek, Vienna





Joseph Haydn in the livery of the Eszterházy Musicians: the first Haydn portrait by J.B. Grundmann around 1768. According to tradition Prince Nikolaus commissioned this portrait (which was destroyed in 1945).

At this period, Paris has a virtual monopoly on Haydn publications. Of all the symphonies in this album, only one, No. 10, was first printed elsewhere. It was issued by J.J. Hummel, then of Amsterdam, about 1768, and was probably pirated from a Viennese MS. Some years later No. 10 formed part of a collection of "Six Simphonies for two violins, two hautboys, two horns, a tenor and violoncello, composed by F.X. Richter, G. Haydn and J.C. Spangenberg . . . London, Printed for C. & S. Thompson, No. 75, St. Paul's Church Yard" (the Haydn works were Symphonies 41, 20 and 10, in that order, as Nos. 4–6 of the print). But otherwise the French publishers had the market for Haydn's symphonies nicely cornered. Here is a list of the French editions of the symphonies included in this volume; the list has been arranged in chronological order.

Date	*Work(s)*	*Publisher*
March 1764	2	Venier. Announced in the *Affiches, Annonces & Avis divers* on 12 March 1764; in the *Avant-coureur* on 26 March and on 1 April in the *Mercure de France.*
April 1768	33, *Divertimento* in G (II; 19), 32, 15, "B" (I:108) and 25.	"Six Simphonies ou Quatuor [*sic*] Dialogues" – *i.e.* all the winds omitted – published by M. de la Chevardière, Marchand de Musique du Roi, Rue de Roule à la Croix d'Or. See Decca series, Nos. 20–35, page 12. Copies of this print: British Museum, &c. announced in the *Mercure de France.*
Oct. 1769	17, a spurious work (by Herffert: I: Es 1), 29, 28, 9, 3.	"M. Bailleux, Maître de Musique, rue S. Honoré, à la Règle d'or", announced in the *Avant-coureur* on 2 October 1769. No copy has ever been loçated. Listed in the Breitkopf Cat. of 1769: "Oeuvre VII, Paris".
Dec. 1769	14, 3, a spurious work (Leopold Hofmann: I: C 2), another spurious work (II: Es 7), 5 and 23.	"Six Symphonies . . . Par Mr. Hayden Maître de Musique de Chapelle à Vienna. Oeuvre VIII . . . A Paris chez Madame Berault. Marchande de Musique Rue et à côte de la Comedie Françoise au Dieu de l'Harmonie". Announced on 11 December 1769 in the *Affiches* &c. Copy: Conservatoire de Musique, Paris.
1770	14	"Oeuvres de Trois Symphonies à grand et petit orchestre par del Signor Richter, de Sig. Ginsepp [*sic*] Toeschi, del Sig. Huyden [*sic*]. Ces Symphonies sont pour la commodité des grands & petits concerts, elles peuvent s'exécuter de même à quatre parties, en supprimant les autres instruments . . . A Paris de l'imprimerie de la Veuve Simon & Fils, Imprimeur-Libraires de S.A.S. Monseigneur le Prince de Condé, Rue des Mathurins. M. DCG. LXX. Avec Approbation & Privilege du Roi." Only one copy known: Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (incomplete), but apparently the Finale was suppressed in this edition.
May 1772	11, *Divertimento* (II: 11), a spurious symphony (Mica or J.C.Bach: I C 26), 59, 34 and another spurious symphony (Ditters(dorf): I A 5).	"Six Sinfonie a grand orchestre composée par Gpe Hayden Maître de Chapelle à la Cour de Vienna Oeuvre XIV . . . A Paris chez Madame Berault" &c. Announced on 7 May in the *Affiches* &c. Only two known copies: Collection Alan Tyson (London) and Collection A. van Hoboken (Ascona).
1772(?)	6	"La Matina Sinfonia a duodeci parte concertante composta da Giuseppe Hayden Maestro di Capella del Principe Esterhasi [*sic*]. Mis au jour par Huberty Maître de la viola d'amour et cy devant del Academia Royale de Musique . . . A Paris chez l'éditeur Rue des Deux Écus au Pigon Blanc . . . Gravêz [*sic*] par Melle Huberty." First listed in a Huberty publisher's catalogue of 1773. Only known copy: Sächische Landesbibliothek, Dresden.
1776	8	"Six Simphonies a grande orchestre dont la dernière est la Soirée de Vienne composées par Mrs Hayden, Wanhall et Lausenmayer . . . Mises au jour par Mr Bailleix . . . Gravées par Mme Lobry. À Paris chez Mr Bailleux Md de Musique des Menus-Plaisirs du Roy: Rue St. Honoré à la Règle d'Or. À Lyon chez Mr Castaud, à Toulouse chez Mr Brunot, à Bordeaux et à Lille chez les Mds de Musique . . . Écrit par Ribière." Announced in the *Almanach Musical,* 1776. A copy in the Conservatoire de Musique, Paris, is from the Library of Louis XVI and is entitled "Musique du Roy 1776". The Paris copy is incomplete. A complete copy in the Bibliothèque Municipale, Bordeaux.

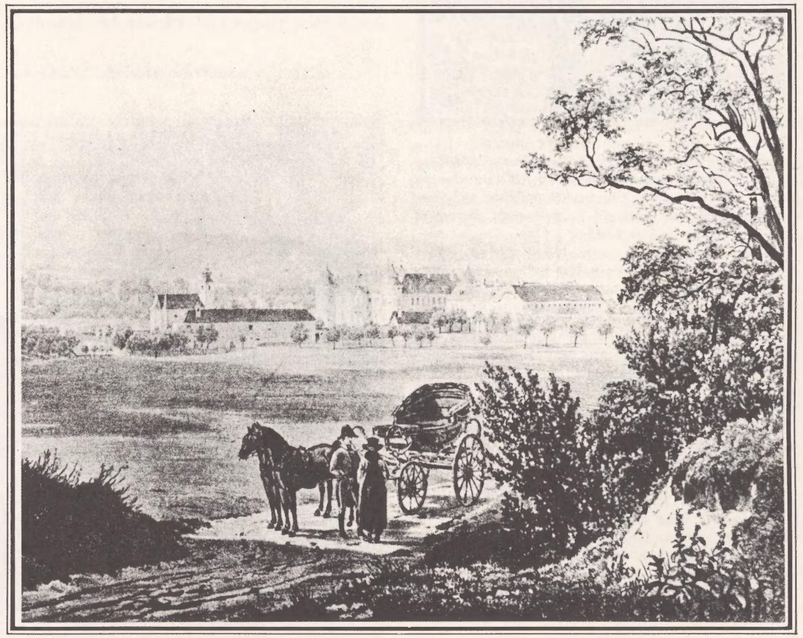
A contemporary copy of the first Symphony (c.1759) from the former Fürnberg Archives. From the part for second violin. Budapest, Nat. Lib., Music Dept.

Symphony No.1 in D. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns and strings, to which we have added a bassoon and harpsichord as part of the *continuo*. "Les commencements obscurs d'un talent célèbre sont toujours un spectacle attachant", wrote La Harpe in the *Correspondance Littéraire*. There is no composer in the history of music who achieved the astonishing progression that we may observe in Haydn's music from 1749 (when he wrote his first Mass) to 1802 (when he wrote his last completed work of any size, the *Harmoniemesse*). There have been, of course, many composers who went through a similar development in their artistic careers – Monteverdi, Domenico Scarlatti, Gluck and Beethoven are names that spring to mind in this connection. But the road that Haydn had to travel is longer than that taken by any of his predecessors, contemporaries or successors. From Symphony No.1 to Symphony No.104 or from the Mass in F to the *Harmoniemesse*, Haydn's style underwent such an extraordinary metamorphosis that it would be hard to find a parallel in any of the arts, let alone in music. It is actually difficult to believe that the same man composed the Late Baroque music of the *Missa brevis* in F and "Winter" from *The Seasons*. And not only was it composed by the same man, but that creator, starting as an almost anonymous figure in the galaxy of Viennese music about 1750, invented the string quartet as we know it today, became the Father of the Symphony – the Germans called him by that name in 1800, even knowing that there were many predecessors in the symphonic field before Haydn – and the founder of what may be called the greatest school in the history of music. Nowadays Haydn's name is inseparably, and rightly, connected with those of Mozart and Beethoven, the one Haydn's most intimate musical friend and the other his unruly if violently talented pupil. The three were the principal exponents of the Viennese classical school.

Was Symphony No.1 Haydn's first effort in the *genre*? The composer believed so when he supplied the information to G.A. Griesinger, who became Haydn's most reliable biographer. Griesinger actually printed the *incipit* of the first movement, adding that the work had been composed in 1759 for Count Morzin. We have seen, however, that at least one Haydn symphony (No.37) exists in a manuscript dated 1758 from a Bohemian Castle Archives. No.37 is – for reasons explained above – certainly one of the Morzin symphonies. Perhaps Haydn began writing symphonies in 1757. Unfortunately no one has been able to locate the Morzin archives, though recently we have been given hope that we may one day discover it in Czechoslovakia. Our knowledge of Haydn's position with the family comes from Griesinger and also from Haydn's other "authentic" biographer, A.C. Dies. Until the Morzin archives are discovered, we can do no more than present this conflicting evidence.

In some respects it is better to think not of Haydn's first symphony but of the whole group for Morzin. Symphonies composed in 1757, the year that the real "Father" of the German-Bohemian symphonic tradition, Johann Stamitz, died, were not the individual affairs that they later became. Composers were happy to use the formulae bequeathed to them by their predecessors. In Haydn's case, there was not only the famous Mannheim school (of which Stamitz was the founder), with its rich legacy of orchestral effects, but also a flourishing local Viennese (or better, Austrian) school. The Viennese, as leaders of the Austrian movement, were immensely gifted but also distinctly conservative. The great Baroque tradition of Caldara, Fux and Haydn's own teacher, Georg

Weinzierl near Wieselburg in Lower Austria, the estate of Karl Joseph, Baron von Fürnberg, a patron of the young Haydn. Lithograph by Jacob Alt. Vienna, ONB, Cartographic Coll.



Reuttter Jr. was still very much alive when Haydn was a young man. The contrapuntal style was still cultiwated in church music, but a new and very Austrrian form had meanwhile arisen: it was called, variously, "Parthia", "Partita", "Cassatio" or "Divertimento" – Haydn used all these terms – and was a piece of music usually in five movements (fast – minuet & trio – slow – minuet & trio – fast),, sometimes in three (fast – slow – fast, or, in the *sonata da chiesa* tradition, slow – minuet & trio – fasst). The style of this Austrian *divertimento* – we shall use the term most widely adopted – was a mixture of street serenade, folk tunes and altogether "modern" music with fresh, open melodies and a distimctly unintellectual approach. No canons and fugues in the *divertimento*.

Viennese composers thus developed a curious duality of styles. Their church music was old-fashioned, with big fugues and other Baroque formulae; their *divertimenti* were frankly popular works for local consumption; their Italian operas were modelled on the many works south of the Alps which continued to flood northern Europe; their symphonies were a new hybrid form, utilizing elements of the *divertimento*, the three-movement Italian opera *sinfonia*, and the rich orchestral technique from Mannheim. The Austrians soon became specialists in the chamber symphony, a small-scaled form scored, usually, for oboes, horns and strings with the occasional flute and/or bassoon. The difference between the opera *sinfonia* and the real symphony was very small, so small indeed that Haydin's Overture to *Alcide e Galatea* (1763), in three movements, is found in contemporary MSS. – at Göttweig Abbey, for example – as a symphony; while conversely what is obviously an overture to one of the Italian "comedies" given at Eisenstadt in 1762 ended up its life as Symphony No.9.

Haydn, and most of his Austrian contemporaries, were rather sceptical of Mannheim and its "vermanneriette goût" (its over-mannered taste) – a now famous description by none other than Leopold Mozart. It was not only the crescendos and dimenuendos, the "rockets" (themes that jumped up the scale, and particularly the tonic triad), and so on, which the Austrians found exaggerated; it was also the prolix quality that we feel in many works by Johann Stamitz, whose famous symphonies are not well organized. These structural defects were partly remedied in works by Stamitz's contemporaries and pupils, e.g. Franz Xaver Richter (1709-89), who introduced serious fugues into his symphonies, or Stamitz's most brilliant pupil, Franz Beck, whose first symphonies published in Paris in the 1760s are even today astonishingly modern and passionate.

[1]The first performance of the work in modern times was conducted by Colin Davis in a series devised by the writer of these notes for the BBC in 1958 entitled "The Pre-Classical Symphony". The Symphony is published by Verlag Doblinger, Vienna-Munich.

We can observe what the Austrians thought of Mannheim by studying the local products in Vienna and the provinces – and not only Haydn's. In 1758 Florian Leopold Gassmann, later to become a well-known opera composer and also the producer of some excellent fugal quartets, was in Venice producing a new opera called *L'issipile*. The three-movement overture to this opera is preserved in a Viennese manuscript and was thus known to the Viennese as well as the Venetians. [1] The work is scored for the same orchestra as Haydn's No.1 except that the Gassmann also has trumpets and timpani (which Haydn's No.1 does not). Gassmann's work begins:

while Haydn's begins

Apart from this sturdy *crescendo* in No.1, and another one in the first movement of No.4, Haydn's symphonies for Count Morzin are astonishingly free of Mannheim effects: astonishing for us, perhaps, but certainly not for Haydn. The Austrians already had a school of their own which was pursuing paths entirely different from Stamitz and his school. Gassmann's flirtation with the Mannheim *crescendo* is no more serious than Haydn's. If we wish to see what talented Austrians, apart from Gassmann and Haydn were composing, we may turn to the early works of the Viennese-born Spaniard, Carlos d'Ordoñez, whom Haydn was in 1775 to invite to compose an opera for Eszterháza Castle. Ordoñez, two years younger than Haydn, began writing symphonies some years before his more illustrious colleague. The Austrian monasteries began to collect Ordoñez's symphonies as early as 1756; in that year Göttweig Abbey copied a C major Ordoñez Symphony beginning with an *Adagio*, and in 1756 or 1757 Kremsmünster Abbey copied another C major work (in the more usual three movements, beginning with an *Allegro molto*, and with trumpets and timpani) which Lambach Abbey owned in a slightly reduced orchestration. Ordoñez also composed a very original Symphony for three choirs: two of trumpets and timpani and a third with oboes, horns and strings. Perhaps this was literally a church symphony, to be played with the various choirs separated as in the Venetian Basilica of St. Mark's. The heavy brass tradition continued, in Vienna, side by side with the chamber symphony; in 1757 Haydn's teacher, Georg Reutter Jr., composed a "Servizio di Tavola" with no less than four trumpets and timpani (and including a fearsomely difficult trumpet solo).

In those days, trumpets and timpani were in Austria synonymous with the church and with C major, the key in which most solemn masses were written. Reutter's "Servizio" is in C, and so is Ordoñez's multi-choired Symphony, and when Haydn began using trumpets and timpani for Count Morzin, as in Symphonies Nos. 32 and 33, he automatically placed them in C. It was not until the 1770s that Haydn used trumpets and drums in anything but C: again, one more typically conservative Austrian trait.

If we may sum up Haydn's symphonic style at this period we may find four distinct types of works composed for Count Morzin:

(1) Ordinary symphonies in three movements (fast – slow – fast), scored for oboes, horns and strings: Nos. 1, 2, 4, *etc.*

(2) Church-sonata symphonies in four or three movements (slow – fast – minuet & trio – fast, or, as in No.18, slow – fast – tempo di minuetto): Nos. 5, 11, 18, *etc.*

(3) Symphonies with four movements: fast – slow – minuet & trio – fast: Nos. 3, *etc.*

(4) Symphonies in C with trumpets and timpani, in three or four movements: Nos. 20, 32, 33, *etc.*

We shall note the interesting exceptions to this rule as we proceed.

In Haydn's No.1, then, we have a typical three-movement work of the period. It is to be noted that the second subjects of the first movements are in the dominant *minor* at this period (in the tonic minor when they return in the recapitulation).

The slow movements are almost never adagios but andantes and in "light" metres, *e.g.* two-four (as in No.1, also in No.2), while the Finales are also in a quick metre, usually three-eight. Slight though this music is, the astute connoisseur will observe that it is formally immaculate; every note is in its right place. Haydn had written many works before he started on symphonies, and orchestrally he had composed *divertimenti* for strings and various combinations of wind instruments, not to speak of a successful German opera (*Der krumme Teufel*). His experience with wind instruments received an impetus from living in Bohemia. There we find a great tradition of woodwind and brass playing, and of composing *divertimenti* for wind band. Haydn began writing such *divertimenti* for Morzin, and by 1760 had composed half-a-dozen, most of which were discovered by the writer of these notes in Czechoslovakia some years ago. (We could identify the works by the *incipits* in the *Entwurf-Katalog*.) In 1760, when he was also busily composing symphonies for Morzin, Haydn found the time to compose a fascinating *Divertimento* in F for two *cors anglais*, two horns, two bassoons, and two violins (H: 16). Apart from the *outré* orchestration, this work marks the beginning of Haydn's long and fruitful flirtation with the *cors anglais*, an instrument which is as much part of his language in the 1760s and 1770s as the clarinet was to be with Mozart. (Haydn tried the

clarinet in several works composed about 1761 but obviously found the instrument technically crude – this was long before the appearance of such players as the Stadler brothers – and in general unsatisfactory.)

Symphony No.2 in C. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns and strings, to which we have added a bassoon and harpsichord as part of the *continuo*. This is a much more learned work than No.1. The Baroque dotted theme of the first movement lends itself to contrapuntal development. An interesting innovation is that there are no repeat signs in any of the movements, and the whole work is what the Germans call "durchkomponiert". The second subject is, as usual, in the dominant minor, and it is connected to the first subject by the dotted lead given to the first violin (bars 41, 43, but even in the horns at 40). In the middle of the development there is a beautiful *pianissimo* passage (bars 86ff.) which leads us to a kind of false recapitulation: the real reprise is brought in after still another lengthy *pianissimo* section lasting all the way from bar 113 to bar 133. The second movement is an *Andante* in two-four metre. As in almost all these slow movements, the wind instruments are silent. Here we have another experiment: a kind of *perpetuum mobile* in which the violins play in semiquavers from the first to the last note (both are quavers!), the pattern being constantly broken by the use of trills. The Finale (*Presto*, three-eight) is one of the first of Haydn's clear-cut rondos. The initial "A" section is broken up into *a-b-a*, and a similar tripartite division may be observed in the "B" and "C" sections which are, respectively, in the tonic minor and in the subdominant (the latter marked *pp*). Whereas No.1 was mainly constructed of many small motifs, No.2 is largely based on single motifs, and with our hindsight we know that it is No.2's method that will become the hallmark of its composer.

Symphony No.3 in G. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns and strings, to which we have added a bassoon and harpsichord as part of the *continuo*. This is in many respects the most "modern" of all these early symphonies. The modernity comes, firstly, in the construction of the first movement, with a second subject in the dominant *major* and a delightful flourish for the oboes (thus introducing a contrast not only in key but also in instrumentation). Another aspect of this modernity is the fact that the work is in four movements with a full-fledged minuet and trio as the third movement: this is to set the pattern, after much wavering and second thoughts, for the mature Haydn. And paradoxically, another facet of the work's modernity is its old-fashioned use of counterpoint almost throughout. In fact Haydn's mature style was to include, almost as second nature, a streak of Baroque contrapuntalism which continued through Mozart and was also cultivated by Beethoven, whose "Grosse Fuge" carries the art to ultimate splendour and complexity. We note that the theme of the opening movement lends itself to polyphonic treatment, giving the movement a multi-voiced richness that is immediately arresting. The second subject, with its oboe solos, and also the trio of the minuet, with its solos for oboes and horns, show strong traces of the Austrian *divertimento*. The second movement is a fine G minor *Andante moderato*, very much beholden to the Austrian Baroque tradition. But even more Baroque is the *Menuet* (as Haydn calls it), which turns out to be a canon between top and bottom lines at the interval of one bar: this created a *furore* at the time âs was literally imitated – even to the actual key in the case of both imitators – by Michael Haydn and W.A. Mozart, but also by Joseph Haydn (in Symphony No.23, 1764). The climax of all this preoccupation with contrapuntal forms is the Finale, which is a sturdy double fugue in the manner of J.J. Fux, the great Austrian Baroque composer whose contrapuntal treatise, *Gradus ad Parnassum*, was Haydn's model (and of which Haydn made a brilliant extract for his pupils). Haydn's is not a "straight" fugue, however, but is used in conjunction with elements of sonata form, e.g. modulation to the dominant. This fugal Finale is the great-grandfather of the Finale in Mozart's *Jupiter* Symphony, but before 1788 Haydn himself will have refined the fugal last movement to an instrument of rare delicacy and strength.

Symphony No.4 in D. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns and strings, to which we have added a bassoon and harpsichord as part of the *continuo*. A bright, energetic opening movement has the second subject in the dominant minor, but there is a brilliantly modern *crescendo* at the beginning of the development, each time to accentuate a passing dissonance. The slow movement is another kind of *perpetuum mobile*, this time with the second violin moving in restless syncopations throughout. The muted violins are also to become one of Haydn's best-loved effects, especially in the early 1770s. The metre is two-four and the tempo *Andante*: this is not yet the time for soul-searching adagios, and the melancholy of this D minor movement is of an Italianate kind, the quiet winter mist of the Venetian Lagoons which Haydn will have learned at second hand, *via* Vivaldi (who had died in Vienna in 1740). The Finale, entitled "Tempo di Menuetto", is Haydn's clever combination of the minuet (though in 3/8 rather than 3/4) with the typical finale form; the long lead-back to the recapitulation is noteworthy: it begins at once on the right side of the double bar and continues, in a gigantic pedal point, right up to the reprise, the dynamic level sinking to *piano* (and the bass line dropping an octave), then to *pianissimo* (with long held horns). It reveals the hand of the master, for although on a small scale, the timing is perfect.

Symphony No.5 in A. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns and strings to which we have added a bassoon and harpsichord as part of the *continuo*. This is a work in the *sonata da chiesa* form, with an entire opening slow movement; and here, in these works, we have for the first time real adagios (see also No.11) rather than andantes. Except for No. 18's opening movement (which is slower than the usual *andante*), all the beginnings of Haydn's church sonata symphonies are marked *adagio*. Here we have an interesting example of how Haydn applies the *divertimento* technique to such a solemn movement as this: hardly have the strings begun by themselves (leading us to believe that this is a typical wind-less slow movement) than the solo horns enter with a passage of great difficulty. Haydn even withholds the oboes until bar 20. In the recapitulation, the horns are expected to go up to sounding a^2. To balance this fantastic hybrid *Adagio ma non troppo* Haydn writes a very tight second movement, with springy rhythms and wide dynamic contrasts (second subject announced only by the two violins). The *Minuet* (Haydn's spelling: until the middle of 1760 he wrote "Minuet", after that "Menuet") is wholly Austrian, with its folk-tune echoes and dynamic contrasts, and the Trio once again turns to the *divertimento* for its horn and oboe soli, the first horn arriving twice more at the appallingly difficult a^2. In such a movement as this Minuet and Trio, Haydn was light years away from the Mannheim school, and equally far removed from the grave Baroque grandeur of Vivaldi and his followers. In the Finale to No. 5, Haydn creates a very short but very effective conclusion to this church-sonata work: taking a leaf from the second movement, we find wide contrasts between the theme's beginning (two violins alone, p) and continuation (*tutti*): this use of the two violins all by themselves was a feature of the second subject in the *Allegro*.

Symphony No. 6 in D (*Le Matin*). Scoring: flute, 2 oboes, bassoon, 2 horns, strings (with *violono concertante, violoncello concertante* and double bass solo), to which we have added a *harpsichord continuo*. The programmatic content of these three Symphonies – "Morning", "Noon" and "Night" – has long since disappeared, if indeed Haydn ever made it public. These were his calling cards at Eisenstadt in the Summer of 1761, and clever diplomat that he was, the composer gave difficult and ingratiating solo parts to all his new "first-desk" men in the orchestra – the surest and quickest way to a musician's heart. Some of the symphonies have elaborate parts for the leader (Luigi Tomasini) and the first cellist, others have real *concertino* sections, as in an old *concerto grosso,* for two violins and cello. Each Trio of the Minuet has an elaborate solo for the double bass, and there are solo sections for the flute, the first oboe, bassoon and occasionally for the horns, too. By returning to the old *concerto grosso,* Haydn gave a novel twist to the Austrian symphony and created works which were a breathtaking fusion of suite, symphony, *concerto grosso,* solo concerto and *divertimento*.

No. 6 opens with what is almost certainly a description of the sunrise. Many years later, in the Oratorrios *The Creation* and *The Seasons,* Haydn was to do the same thing in an even more grandiose and impresssive manner. In "Le Matin", Haydn accomplishes his sunrise in the six-bar introduction, the first that he composed for a symphony. The ensuing *Allegro* is based upon a subject for solo flute, next ttaken up by the oboe and then by the whole orchesstra. Shortly before the end of the exposition there are the first instances of Haydn's use of *fortepiano* within the symphonic form: the effect is to add a nervvous impetus to the whole movement. The development is notable for the retransition to the recapittulation: here is the first example of such imagimative woodwind writing in a Haydn symphony (quite different from the *divertimento* – like solos we hawe noted earlier).

The second movement is perhaps the crown of the work. There are three sections, an *Andante* flanked on both sides by an *Adagio*. The winds are dropped; a solo violin and solo cello are introduced, and this *concertino* is balanced by a *ripieno* (to use the Corelliian terms) of strings and harpsichord. What begins to be an amusing parody of a singing lesson (do-re-mi-fa-sol...) gives Haydn the opportunity of displaying his mastery of polyphonic string writing. This do-re-mi is a kind of slow introduction to the *Andamte*, a stately Baroque dance in 3/4 time (as contrasted with the 4/4 of the flanking *Adagio* movements). Concluding the *Andante* are two chords in the style of a closing recitative. The scale parody is then reintroduced except that every vestige of humour is removed, and in its stead Haydn gives us a most heartfelt and moving tribute to the beauty of the Baroque age – then a thing of the past.

The elegant *Menuet* – a bit French in its poise – brings back the wind band; and the second part has a passsage for unacompanied wind instruments that reminds us of this work's proximity to the wind band *divertimenti* mentioned earlier. The astounding Trio, with its grotesque double bass solo, is another deliberate excursion into the tonal world of the Baroque.

The Finale (*Allegro*) has a solo violin and solo cello part. The solo violin is required to play a long and technically difficult solo in the middle part of the movement, and one is strangely reminded of the Fourth Brandenburg Concerto and its great solo violin part (Haydn could not have heard the Bach work, which was totally unknown in Austria). It is clear that Haydn won his leader's heart and support with this flattering but musically well integrated solo (one of many for Tomasini but perhaps the most difficult). Even the two horns explode into prominence immediately after the big violin solo. As we listen to this movement, we must remind ourselves that it was a brillliantly original way of pouring new wine into old bottles.

Symphony No. 7 in C ("Le Midi"). Scoring: 2 flutes, 2 oboes, bassoon, 2 horns, strings (with *violino I concertante, violino II concertante, violoncello concertante* and double bass solo), to which we have added a harpsichord *continuo*. The work opens with a short, slow introduction (*adagio*) based on a typically Baroque dotted figure. This dotted rhythm, a direct descendant of the French overture, appears also in the violin Concerto in C which Haydn wrote about 1761 for Luigi Tomasini. In contemporary practice, this dotted rhythm was actually double dotted. The ensuing *Allegro* has for its main feature repeated semiquavers over a sturdy quaver bass line, the whole in unison. As the movement unfolds we notice that the top and bottom line are written in double counterpoint at the octave. Instead of modulating directly to the dominant, Haydn brings in his *concertino,* still in the tonic, in the manner of a concerto. The flute is not used in this movement, but the oboes have parts so soloistic that they could almost be considered part of the *concertino*; and even the bassoon is used as a solo instrument. Here we have a kind of "symphonie concertante".

The most remarkable idea in "Le Midi" is the Recitative which constitutes the second movement. The solo violin parodies the anguished soprano heroine in a Metastasian *opera seria*; she is accompanied by strings – a real *recitativo accompagnato* such as Haydn himself was to write all his life. Haydn found the concept of an instrumental mock-recitative fascinating, and used it again in a *Divertimento* written about 1761 (II: 17) scored, by the way, for the interesting combination of clarinets, horns, violins, two violas and cello-base. All through the music of the Viennese classical school, this attempt to introduce recitative into purely instrumental music runs like an unbroken thread. Michael Haydn tried the experiment in one of his greatest Serenades for large orchestra; Mozart has a recitative in one of his Salzburg *Divertimenti;* and of course all music lovers remember the great instrumental recitative in the Finale of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony.

After the angular strength and curiously moving power of the recitative, Haydn adds the prescribed V–I cadence, ending in B minor. In the next movement, *Adagio*, we are in G major, and in the first bar two flutes (not previously used in this Symphony) suddenly soar over the sustained solo violin and the accompanying strings. The effect of G major after B minor and the soft warmth of the flutes is like the sudden and unexpected release of a damned spirit who is now free, like Orpheus (in Gluck's music with the great flute solo), to walk in the Elysian fields. (But Haydn's "Le Midi" preceded Gluck's *Orfeo* by one year.) Our surprises are not yet over, however, After approaching the close of the second part in normal fashion, Haydn leads the music to a six-four chord, whereupon the solo violin and solo cello are given a long cadenza to themselves – written out by Haydn and not, as was usually the case in eighteenth-century music, left to the performers to improvise. In the midst of this section, a few bars of *Allegro* are introduced, almost as if we were witnessing an improvisation by a soloist during the cadenza of his concerto. After a long, prepared cadence, with the concluding trill, we have a short tutti, just as if we were in the middle of a concerto.

The *Menuetto* (again Haydn's term) drops the flutes but has a prominent part for the woodwind and horns, also retained in the Trio with its solo for the "Violone" (double bass). The merry Finale reintroduces the flute and contains the concertino of two solo violins and solo cello, to which the flute contributes a fourth solo instrument.

Symphony No. 8 in G (*Le Soir*). Scoring: 1 flute, 2 oboes, bassoon, 2 horns, strings (with *violino I concertante, violino II concertante, violoncello concertante* and double bass solo), to which we have added a harpsichord *continuo*. No. 8 is equally diverse. The opening *Allegro molto* in 3/8 time begins with first and second violins only, *piano*. The length of the phrases is rendered unequal by the violin flourish in bars 13/14, thus creating the famous kind of "limping" subject that we so often find in Haydn's string quartets. The movement is also noteworthy in that there is only one subject: here is one of the first of many times, culminating in the celebrated Finale to the *Drum Roll* Symphony (No. 103) some thirty-five years later, in which Haydn's sonata movement is strictly monothematic. The development of No. 8 has, near the beginning, a fine sequential passage that is again typical of the period.

The *Adagio* has a close connection to the *concerto grosso*: again we have two violins and cello as a *concertino,* while the bassoon wavers pleasantly between its old function as part of the *basso continuo* and its new rôle as a solo instrument. Emotionally it is a curious movement, and one wonders what it was supposed to represent.

The *Menuetto* is perhaps the most popular of these three symphonies: everyone in Eisenstadt Castle will have whistled the tune after its first performance in the great hall (still extant, by the way). The connoisseurs will have relished the plunge into the minor during the second part and the exquisite writing for unaccompanied woodwind (to which the viola, after a few bars, adds a delightful wash of colour). The Trio has the solo for double bass that we have now come to expect (the reason being that a trio was just the right length to present the unwieldy "Violone" as a solo instrument).

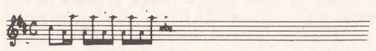
The Finale, which the composer entitled *La tempesta* (the storm), is a typical Rococo conceit: one of Ignaz Holzbauer's symphonies also includes a "tempesta di mare". Here Haydn indulges in true programmatic writing: the flute – not the timpani – is used to depict lightning, and the string basses imitate thunder. It is not a very realistic storm, but it will have delighted the festive audience, to whom the awe-inspiring storms of Haydn's *Seasons* and Beethoven's *Pastoral* Symphony (not to speak of Berlioz in *Les Troyens* or Wagner at the beginning of *Die Walküre*

were not yet revealed. (Storm scenes are the musical effects that age the most quickly.)

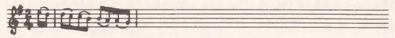
The trilogy was a great achievement and the Esterházys realized that they had as their Assistant Chapel Master one of the finest musical minds in Europe. With "Le Matin", "Le Midi" and "Le Soir" Haydn clearly won the old Prince Paul Anton Esterházy's heart, and also that of the younger Prince Nicolaus, who in a year would ascend the Esterházy throne. The trilogy was a highly auspicious beginning to Haydn's new career with the greatest Hungarian magnates of the period.

Symphony No. 9 in C. Scoring: 2 flutes, 2 oboes, bassoon, 2 horns and strings, to which we have added a harpsichord *continuo*. The autograph of this three-movement work bore the date 1762. Ending as it does with the Menuetto & Trio, we have suggested elsewhere that the Symphony might originally have served as the overture to one of the many shorter Italian operas that Haydn conducted at Eisenstadt in 1762 and 1763 (we have the titles of many of them: *Il dottore, La vedova, Il sganarello* and *La Marchesa Nespola,* but only some of the music of the latter has survived). Also the whole thematic material and organization of the opening movement is more that of an overture than a real symphony; it reminds us very much of Haydn's Overture to *Acide e Galatea.* The opening movement is scored for oboes, horns and strings. The *Andante* introduces two flute parts and drops the horns. In the Menuetto we return to the scoring of the first movement, except for one surprise in the Trio (a delicious waltz which astonishes because of its early age): in the second part we read, over the bass line "Fagotto" and later "Tutti bassi". The solo bassoon part is the bass line of a charming wind band section. It shows that Haydn expected the bassoon to double the bass line even although not specifically required until this tiny solo in the Trio. (Incidentally, none of the known Morzin symphonies contains any bassoon parts; this might mean that Symphony "B", which contains a bassoon solo in the Trio, is an early work for Eisenstadt rather than one of the Morzin group.)

Symphony No. 10 in D. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns and strings, to which we have added a bassoon and harpsichord as part of the *continuo.* Another brilliant D major Symphony for Morzin (the others are Nos. 1, 4 and 15), with a main theme containing strong contrasts between *p* and *f* and big chords in the violins. This is the most outwardly brilliant of these four D major works, with dashing repeated figures in the violins



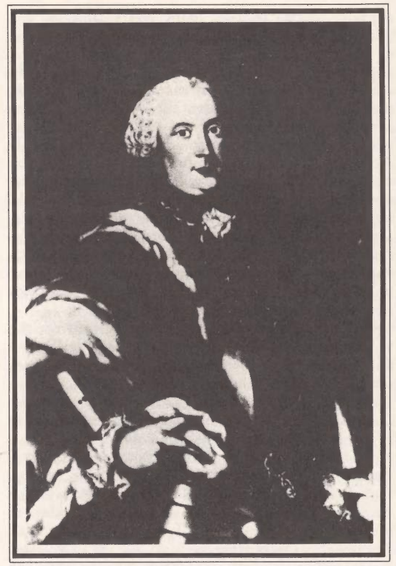
There is a perfect *fausse reprise* a few bars after the development begins – too close to the double bar to make us believe that the real recapitulation is at hand. Actually, this practice comes from another trait entirely, and that is Haydn's habit of modulating immediately back to the tonic at the beginning of the development and then starting the real course of modulations thereafter. The second subject is in the dominant major (not minor), and altogether this little work looks distinctly forwards and not backwards. The *Andante*, for strings alone, is in two-four time and in G major, the subdominant, and the movement is dominated by what is known as a "sighing" motif, that is the stepwise progression downwards, as in:



This graceful and gentle *Andante* is an excellent contrast to the boisterous spirits of the opening movement and the dancing three-eight Presto with which the work concludes.

Symphony No. 11 in E flat, Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns and strings, to which we have added a bassoon and harpsichord as part of the *continuo.* A fine church-sonata Symphony, with a gravely beautiful opening *Adagio*, scored for horns and strings (oboes *tacent*). Haydn made some important revisions in the horn parts of this movement, just before the double bars of both sections (score readers: 28ff., 75ff.), adding sustained notes throughout rather than a crotchet to reinforce the *f* at bars 28, 30, 75 and 77). He added these personally to the horn parts of the Fürnberg MSS. in Budapest. The second movement introduces the oboes. The *Allegro* is the hard-driving, tightly rhythmic foil to the luxuriant spaciousness of the opening *Adagio.* The second subject is a contrapuntal variant of the first subject, but scored only for the two violins, *piano*. Throughout we note that the main theme has been so worked out that it can be contrapuntally exploited (e.g. in canon at the recapitulation, bars 112ff.). The *Minuet* (Haydn's spelling) is of an irresistable rhythmic drive and of a bizarre construction (the main section twelve bars, subdivided into seven plus five). The Trio, for strings only, has an odd syncopated pattern that fills the violin parts, the actual syncopations sliding unobtrusively from second to first violin and back again. The racy and sophisticated Finale is built on the retrograde of the main theme of the second movement (originally: e flat - f - g - a flat, whereas in the Finale a flat - g - f - e flat) but using the syncopated rhythm of the trio. It is on a larger scale than most other Morzin finales, as indeed all the church-sonata symphonies exceed in physical size and emotional scope the other, more normal works of the period.

Symphony No. 12 in E. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns and strings, to which we have added a bassoon and harpsichord as part of the *continuo.* The autograph of Haydn's Symphony No. 12 is in the Esterházy Archives in Budapest and is signed "In Nomine Domini" and "Giuseppe Haydn 763." Three



Prince Paul Anton Esterházy. Oil Est. Coll. (Photo: Coll. H.C. Robbins Landon, Buggiano)

symphonies are known to have been composed in 1763: Nos. 12, 13 and 40 (the latter very much out of place in the old numbering); each is an entity and each completely different from the other: the dashing bravura of No. 13, with its four horns and kettledrums; the elegant, suave No. 40, with its pixie-like, wistful slow movement and its concluding fugue; and the present work, radiant, glowing, with something of a fresh Spring day about it.

Nos. 12 and 14 are perfect miniature symphonies. The miniature quality of No. 12 is reflected not only in the small size of the work as a whole – it lasts little longer than fourteen minutes – but also in the construction of the individual movements. The opening shows us that this is a "chamber" symphony: the first subject is piano (where we know that the average symphony began forte). The warmth of the key, E major, and the brightness of the string sound are well utilized by the composer. The second subject, with an imitation between upper and lower strings, continues the intimate tone, Mozart lovers will recognize in the second subject something very like the opening part of the *Magic Flute* Overture (Modulation to a half close on the dominant). 1791 is rather a long way from 1763, but Symphony No. 12 isis the gate to the Viennese classical period: it is a moddest gate, small and beautifully wrought: but the cleveer listener can peer through to the vast green gardden on which the little portal opens.

Aall during these experimental years, Haydn's sympphonies weave into their fabric elements of other musiical forms: the concerto, even the *concerto grossso,* the *divertimento* (including the wind-band varieety), and of course the opera. We recall the operratic origins of No. 7's Recitative. No. 12's slow movvement, an *Adagio* in "siciliano" or rocking rhythm, also has its roots in the operatic aria – not so much in the actual form but in the underlying spirit. It is a ratheer serious movement, in the minor; and its strong, virilee accents admirably set off the soft and gracious warrmth of the opening *Allegro.*

The Finale (marked "Allegro di molto" on most earlyy MSS. but "Presto" on the autograph) bubbles overr with high spirits. The jaunty opening subject acquires its lilt from the peculiar type of phrasing whicch accentuates the up-beats. The furious but brillliantly controlled energy of this Finale also gives us aa clue to the kind of movement that will dominate Hayrdn's symphonic thought in 1764 and 1765: its culmination, the farthest point to which this energy can be strained, will be seen in the opening movement of Symphony No. 24 and the Finale of No. 29.

Haydn was in such high spirits that he even forgot to aadd his usual "laus Deo" at the end of the manuscrippt.

Symphony No. 13 in D. Scoring: flute, 2 oboes, 4 horrns, timpani and strings, to which we have added a basssoon and harpsichord as part of the *continuo.* The autograph of this work is also in the Esterházy Archives, Budapest, signed and dated 1763. Of the three symphonies composed in that year, No. 13 is the grandest. Part of its immediate effect is the large size of the orchestra – one of the biggest Haydn used until 1774. The use of four rather than two horns is striking: in 1763, the little band at Eisenstadt was enlarged to include four "corno da caccia" (hunting horn) players, all of whom seem to have been excellent musicians. Slightly later Haydn wrote two symphonies (31,, 72) and a *Cassatio* to show off his four horn players in "hunting" works (complete with horn calls and the like). It is not only that the size of the orchestra is bigger on paper, but Haydn knows how to make this large wind band sound new and different. It is almost as if he were showing his new Prince, Nicolaus Esterházy (who had acceded to the title a yeaar earlier), how worthwhile it had been to enlarge the group of musicians. The very opening is stunning: the wind instruments are used in massive blocked chords, holding the harmony over many bars like a sonorous organ, while the strings pierce through with theiir highly rhythmic unison figure.

In the autograph, the timpani part was added at the botttom of each page on a free stave; but not in Haydn's hand. The ink shows, however, that it was added very early, possibly by the timpanist under Haydn's supervision, for it is a very Haydnesque part and contributes much to the dash and vigour of the quick movements. Actually, we have evidence that the timpani part is contemporary, for we find it in several old copies: in the Archives of the Princes of Oettingem-Wallerstein (now Harburg Castle), in the Wallerstein Archives – a different family – at Schloss Hirschberg (Doksy), now in the Prague National Museum, and in the music archives of Námest Castle (now at Brno, ČSSR).

Unlike its numerical mate, No. 12, the present D major work is a festive piece. There is hardly anything of the chamber musical atmosphere of No.12 and indeed, the opening movement of No. 13 might be an operatic overture. There is no real second subject, and most of the movement is built round the terse rhythm of the strings at the beginning. The little figure at bars 15ff. assumes great importance in the development section. The recapitulation brings in the whole subject *piano* instead of *forte,* and the *f* enters dramatically a few bars later, with the four horns in fanfare striding up the open harmonics of their instruments.

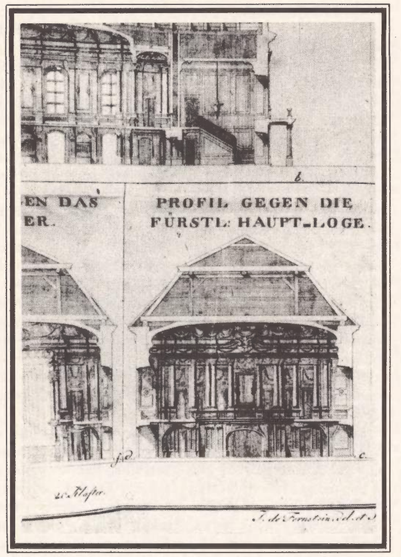
We have pointed out, in connection with No. 12, that many other musical forms leave their imprint on Haydn's experimental symphonies of the 1760s. The lovely second movement of No. 13 is taken straight from the realm of the solo concerto. This *Adagio cantabile* could in fact be a slow movement from one of the Haydn solo cello concertos of this period (he wrote at least two, one of which is lost). All the winds (and of course the drums) are silent, and the string orchestra accompanies discreetly. Haydn's "first desk men", as we would call them today, were all great virtuosi; Michael Kelly, Mozart's first Bartolo, and an Irishman of wit and ability, described the Esterházy orchestra as a band of professors. Even the double bass player was sufficiently gifted not only for the solo passages in Nos. 6-8 but also for Haydn to write a concerto for him, alas lost. We shall see another purely concerto movement in the *Adagio* of Symphony No. 24 (for solo flute). Here, in No. 13, we have "concertante" music in the noblest early classical tradition: highly decorated but never overladen, luxuriant in breadth but never too long, in that fine taste for which the Viennese school was always (and rightly) celebrated.

In Symphony No. 12, there was no time for a minuet. But No. 13 is on a bigger scale and the *Menuet* is written with the same *panache* as the rest of the work. There are many strong dynamic contrasts, especially the *pianissimo* passage in the second part (strings and horns), which sets off the dramatic chordal pattern of the opening and closing sections. The Trio is again a solo – this time for the flute. But whereas the slow movement drew its inspiration from the concerto, the Trio seems to hark back to the *divertimento* form, in which the trios were often reserved for a solo player. The light style and "Lombard" rhythm when the flute plays without any accompaniment seem to transport us to the world of *Tafelmusik.*

We have seen in No. 3 how Haydn experimented with the fugue to lend greater power and weight to his finales. String quartet players will also remember the brilliant fugal finales in Haydn's Quartets of Opus 20 (1772), in which this type of contrapuntal prowess reaches a climax of great emotional and formal proportions. Apart from this severe style (Haydn would have probably called it "lo stilo antico"), the composer tried out various other methods to make the final movements more weighty in content. Here in No. 13 he uses a Fuxian *cantus firmus* together with a countersubject in what theorists call "third species" counterpoint; and readers will at once recognize the famous Gregorian "Credo" theme of Mozartian fame (*inter alia* the *Jupiter* Symphony). No. 13's Finale is not a fugue, however, but a skilful combination of sonata and fugue (notice the *stretto* shortly before the end); and it was in this hybrid form that the Viennese classical school was to revive, in a last golden harvesting, the beauty and strength of a vast contrapuntal tradition that stretched back into the late Middle Ages.

Symphony No. 14 in A. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns and strings, to which we have added a bassoon and harpsichord as part of the *continuo.* The autograph of this delightful miniature symphony has not survived. The oldest and textually most reliable copies were made by Haydn's copyist, Joseph Elssler: one is in the University Library of Frankfurt-am-Main and the other (mentioned above) is in the Monastery of St. Florian. Like No. 12 of 1763, this work – composed about the same time – is a whole symphony in miniature; but unlike No. 12 it includes a minuet and is thus a perfect, if small-sized, specimen of a Haydn symphony composed in the early 1760s. There are no particular experiments; yet if one were to choose any single work to illustrate a highly developed symphony of the early classical period, this one, just because of the fact that it indulges in no formal or instrumental experiments, would serve perfectly.

In the first movement we may observe a stylistic trait which is typical of Haydn's symphonies in the 1760s: the whole is welded together by the constantly repeated quavers in the bass line.This lends to the music a highly nervous quality: it is something peculiarly Haydnesque, and while all his life he liked to keep the music "moving forward" by this device, it is especially in these early symphonies that the repeated quaver (if in barred C, repeated crotchet) assumes such an insistent, driving force. This great unifying factor must have fascinated Haydn's contempories, too; for it was just these symphonies of the 1760s. that began to circulate in manuscript copies throughout the Austrian monarchy and which spread his name throughout Central Europe. It is fascinating to see the astuteness with which the monks of the great Austrian and Bohemian monasteries collected Haydn's music. By 1770 such abbeys as Melk, Göttweig and St. Florian owned more symphonies

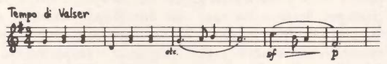


Picture of the opera house from the "Description of the Prince's Palace of Eszterháza in the Kingdom of Hungary" dated 1784. Engraving by Joseph von Fernstein, Budapest, Nat. Mus.

and quartets by Haydn than they did by almost any other composer. When one of the monks wrote on the title page of a symphony "male" (bad) you can be sure he was generally right. Towards the end of the 1760s Haydn was turning out masterpieces of the order of No. 26 ("Lamentatione") and No. 39 in G minor, and when the monks at Lambach Monastery acquired the rather low-powered Symphony No. 58 they thought it "schlecht" ("bad"). They were Haydn's most fastidious judges.

We have spoken, in these notes, of the fact that the concerto, the opera, the *divertimento,* and so on – non-symphonic forms, in other words – are occasionally woven into the fabric of Haydn's symphonies. The second movement of No. 14, an *Andante* which became very popular and was even printed for piano solo by a German magazine in February 1766. This *Andante* originally formed the Finale (a theme and variations) of a very early *Divertimento* in C entitled "Der Geburtstag" (The Birthday) (II: 11), scored for flute, oboe and strings. Haydn created a whole movement in No. 14 using this obviously successful tune; he changed the original shape, which was symmetrical, making it asymmetrical and adding a cello part doubling the melody at the lower octave. The *divertimento* technique persists in the *Menuetto* and especially in the Trio, which is an oboe solo in the tonic minor. In the final movement we are squarely back to the new type of Haydn finale of which No. 13 was a typical example. Here in No. 14 we again have a *cantus firmus* with a counter-subject which is written in double counterpoint at the octave. The whole movement is a fascinating hybrid: the old "light" (6/8) metre is combined with the new contrapuntal texture, even to little *stretti.* Thus a miniature symphony, in Haydn's hand, could continue the exciting task of perfecting the *genre.*

Symphony No. 15 in D. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns and strings, to which we have added a bassoon and harpsichord as part of the *continuo.* The first movement is formally the most interesting of all the Morzin symphonies. It is in the French overture style, with a *Presto* flanked on each side by an *Adagio* of substantial proportions. In the first of the adagios, the oboes are not used at all, and in the final part they only appear towards the end. Once more we feel the influence of the *divertimento* in these adagios, both in the horn solos and in the *pizzicato* string accompaniment; and there is a strongly Austrian feeling about the music, not least in its winning charm. The *Presto* section is *durchkomponiert* and without the customary double bar. There are two features to which we might draw attention. The first is a sly quotation of Symphony No. 4's opening theme that occurs at bars 37ff. Actually Haydn has quoted only the rhythm and not the actual notes, but the rhythmic content is so strong that we immediately think of the (numerically) earlier work. In this connection we would do well to remember Professor Hans Swarowsky's famous old question to his conducting classes: what is this?



Why the "Emperor's Hymn" ("Gott erhatte"), or as young people today would identify it, the German national anthem – written by Haydn in 1797. With the rhythm distorted to a waltz, no one ever realizes the actual sequence of notes. In the Viennese classical school, it is always the rhythm which is the most important factor. The second point we would make in connection with this dashing *Presto* is about the second subject: it starts in the dominant major but immediately slips into the minor. This is a typically transitional feature (in the end, the dominant major will win out).

The second movement is a *Menuet* characterized by dotted rhythms *à la française,* while the Trio, for violins, viola solo, cello solo and double bass, sounds as if it had come straight out of an Austrian *divertimento.* The third movement is a winning *Andante* in the usual two-four time. Students of Haydn's style will note with interest the syncopated passages at bars 22ff. and 68ff.: the violins on the off-beat, the lower strings playing equal quavers marked *staccato.* This will soon become an integral part of Haydn's style in the 1760s, where we find it in everything he writes, even vocal music (some beautiful examples in the *Stabat Mater* of 1767 and the *Missa Cellensis in honorem B.V.M.* of 1766). The Finale in a three-part *Presto,* of which the entended middle section is in the tonic minor and for strings only, with a running second violin part.

Symphony No. 16 in B flat. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns and strings, to which we have added a bassoon and harpsichord as part of the *continuo.* This is an early Eisenstadt work and another example of a perfect miniature symphony in three movements. The opening *Allegro* is composed in double counterpoint at the octave, as the listener can hear all during the main subject (the top and bottom lines being reversible). The part of the theme first given out by the violas and bass line is an old tune used by Mozart and others as a kind of *cantus firmus.* Because the theme and its countersubjects are so rich, Haydn has no need of any other material and the movement is solidly monothematic. The warm-hearted *Andante* follows the trend of No. 14's slow movement in having a cello double the melody at the lower octave. The Finale is an irresistable six-eight movement that races along like a call to the hunt.

Symphony No. 17 in F. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns and strings, to which we have added a bassoon and harpsichord as part of the *continuo.* One of the earliest known sources of this work is a manuscript copied by the German-American composer J. F. Peter on 12 December 1766 and taken with him to the New World, where it now resides in the Moravian Archives of Winston-Salem, North Carolina. It is thus one of the earliest works by Haydn to be heard in the United States. Symphony No. 17 has one of the most solidly symphonic first movements of all Haydn's early works in the *genre.* Here we may observe the breaking-down of themes into small motifs which are used like mosaics to create the rest of the movement. Rhythmically the whole *Allegro* is held together by the bass line in marching quavers which cease only very occasionally and are often transferred to another line, as in bars 34ff., where the two violins play alone, the second violin taking over the quavers formerly confined to the bass. The second movement (*Andante, ma non troppo* in two-four) drops the wind instruments and is in the tonic minor. It has that typically Italian sense of *tristezza* which we find in most of the minor-key movements of Haydn's early symphonies: a gently sad music without grief. The Finale is a very concise *Allegro molto* in three-eight time. It is, incidentally, typical of many early Haydn symphonies that the first movements are the most interesting, formally and musically, while the last two movements *together* may be said to round out the opening.

Symphony No. 18 in G. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns and strings, to which we have added a bassoon and harpsichord as part of the *continuo.* This is one of three Morzin symphonies in the *sonata de chiesa* form, *i.e.* with a whole opening slow movement. No. 18's is an *Andante moderato* which has a spiritual affinity with church sonata symphony, No. 11, in that both open with the second violin, bringing in the first like a fugal answer some bars later (*dux* and *comes*). As in many such openings we have a strong dotted rhythm like that of a French overture: this dotted pattern is the central feature of this movement. The wind instruments are retained, as they always are in church-sonata adagios (or andantes). The second movement has tremendous rhythmic drive and proceeds with the explosive force that characterizes many such allegros in early Haydn. This is highly personal music; it uses the conventional clichés of the period but the drive and sharply etched rhythms are Haydn's own. It shows its age only in one old-fashioned feature, the use of the second subject in the minor. For the concluding movement Haydn chose that favourite hybrid, the "Tempo di Menuet": an overall A-B-A form of which the "A" section is in three subsections (a-b-a). "B" is almost like the middle part of the Gavotte in the Ballet Music to Mozart's *Idomeneo* (K. 367) – Mozart could have seen or heard the work in Lambach Monastery where he sometimes spent the night, and for the friendly monks of which he and his father each composed a symphony.

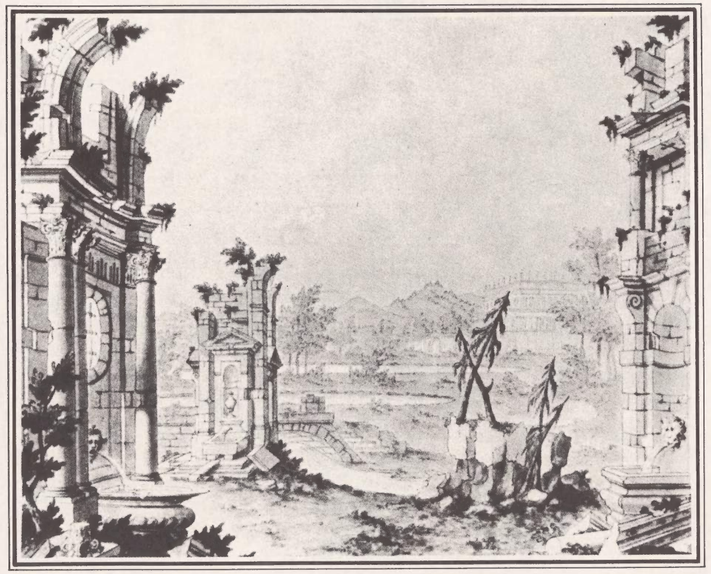
Symphony No. 19 in D. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns and strings, to which we have added a bassoon and harpsichord as part of the *continuo.* Although not among the Morzin symphonies contained in the now famous Fürnberg collection at Budapest, No. 19 is very much of the period and cannot have been written much after Haydn's arrival in Eisenstadt. It is in the usual three-movement form, the second in the tonic minor (two-four time) and the third a *Presto* in three-eight time. But our admiration for the formal efficiency of the opening *Allegro molto* (again with impeccable use of small motifs) is only equalled by our delight in the finely wrought *Andante.* Here we find great rhythmic variety, including several bars of these typically Haydnesque syncopations over a steady quaver bass line. The jaunty Finale is equally well composed. It is miniature art of the finest calibre.

In fact, upon listening to the Morzin symphonies, one is again and again struck by the professional assurance with which these small works are filled. Haydn's boundless energy is balanced by his supreme technical confidence. He writes symphonies, indeed, as if he had composed dozens, like Stamitz, prior to 1757. And although it was not the fashion in those days for composers to wear their hearts on their sleeves, nevertheless Haydn cannot conceal either his energy or his great *joie-de-vivre* with which all these works are divinely filled. Taken as a group, the Morzin and early Eisenstadt symphonies are a most auspicious beginning to the Viennese classical style – the acorns from which, *da vero,* mighty oaks would grow.

The full scores and orchestral parts of all Haydn's early symphonies are published by Verlag Doblinger, Vienna-Munich, edited by the writer of these notes. Miniature scores of Nos. 1-19 are contained in volumes one and two of the Philharmonia series, the *Critical Edition of the Complete Symphonies by Haydn* (Nos. 589, 590), where the reader will find notes on the sources and on the more important textual problems. The separate miniature scores of Nos. 1-19 are also published by Philharmonia.

H.C. Robbins Landon
Buggiano Castello,
May 1973.

A stage set of antique ruins from 1762 (presumably by Girolamo Bon, who was also in the service of Prince Eszterházy). The opera was an important part of life at Esterháza. Budapest. Nat. Lib. Dept. of Theatrical History.



Booklet Cover: Freyung in Vienna, view from Palais Kinsky, water-colour by Balthasar Wiegand (1771-1846).

Haydn: The Symphonies (20-35)
The Philharmonia Hungarica conducted by Antal Dorati

SIDE ONE

SYMPHONY No. 20 in C major
1. Allegro molto (3:23)
2. Andante cantabile (4:37)
3. Minuet and Trio (3:53)
4. Presto (2:55)

SIDE TWO

SYMPHONY No. 21 in A major
1. Adagio (4:43)
2. Presto (3:40)
3. Minuet and Trio (3:22)
4. Allegro molto (3:15)

SIDE THREE

SYMPHONY No. 22 in E flat major "Der Philosoph" (1st version)
1. Adagio (7:45)
2. Presto (4:38)
3. Minuet and Trio (3:35)
4. Presto (3:08)

SIDE FOUR

SYMPHONY No. 23 in G major
1. Allegro (4:33)
2. Andante (5:38)
3. Minuet and Trio (3:23)
4. Presto assai (2:00)

SIDE FIVE

SYMPHONY No. 24 in D major
1. Allegro (3:52)
2. Adagio (4:28)
3. Minuet and Trio (3:48)
4. Allegro (3:25)

SIDE SIX

SYMPHONY No. 25 in C major
1. Adagio (5:30)
2. Minuet and Trio (3:03)
3. Presto (3:00)

SYMPHONY No. 26 in D minor "Lamentation"
4. Allegro assai con spirito (5:50)
5. Adagio (6:05)
6. Minuet and Trio (4:50)

SIDE SEVEN

SYMPHONY No. 27 in G major
1. Allegro molto (4:17)
2. Andante siciliano (4:00)
3. Presto (2:40)

SYMPHONY No. 28 in A major
4. Allegro di molto (4:15)
5. Poco Adagio (7:48)
6. Minuet and Trio – Allegro molto (2:35)
7. Presto assai (3:00)

SIDE EIGHT

SYMPHONY No. 29 in E major
1. Allegro di molto (3:40)
2. Andante (5:27)
3. Minuet and Trio – Allegretto (3:55)
4. Presto (3:43)

SYMPHONY No. 30 in C major "Alleluja"
5. Allegro (3:45)
6. Andante (4:00)
7. Tempo di Menuetto, più tosto Allegretto (4:17)

SIDE NINE

SYMPHONY No. 31 in D major "Hornsignal"
1. Allegro (5:25)
2. Adagio (6:41)
3. Minuet and Trio (4:22)
4. Moderato molto (9:48)

SIDE TEN

SYMPHONY No. 32 in C major
1. Allegro molto (3:37)
2. Minuet and Trio (3:56)
3. Adagio ma non troppo (5:35)
4. Presto (2:43)

SIDE ELEVEN

SYMPHONY No. 33 in C major
1. Vivace (4:30)
2. Andante (7:03)
3. Minuet and Trio (2:57)
4. Allegro (2:52)

SYMPHONY No. 34 in D minor (Beginning)
5. Adagio (5:55)
6. Allegro (4:10)

SIDE TWELVE

SYMPHONY No. 34 in D minor (Conclusion)
1. Minuet and Trio – Moderato (3:20)
2. Presto assai (2:22)

SYMPHONY No. 35 in B flat major
3. Allegro di molto (5:03)
4. Andante (7:07)
5. Minuet and Trio – Un poco allegretto (4:05)
6. Presto (3:32)

Antal Dorati.

Antal Dorati

Antal Dorati was born in Budapest in 1906, and his parents, both musicians, recognised his talents and sent him at the age of fourteen to the Academy of Music in Budapest. His teachers were Zoltan Kodály, Béla Bartók and Leo Weiner. He graduated at eighteen as composer, pianist and conductor, and was the youngest person in the history of the Academy to receive a degree.

Soon after, he was appointed conductor of the Royal Opera House in Budapest, where he worked for four years. In 1928 he went to Dresden as the assistant of Fritz Busch. Between 1928 and 1933 he was principal conductor of the Opera House in Munster, at the same time appearing as guest conductor at several other Opera Houses in Germany, and with orchestras in many major musical centres.

In 1934 he joined the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo, and seven years later was appointed Musical Director of the Ballet Theatre. Meanwhile in 1937 he made his American debut as a symphonic conductor at an all-Beethoven concert with the National Symphony Orchestra of Washington D.C., and during 1939–40 made an extensive tour of Australia. Returning to the States, Dorati became Director of the New Opera Company in New York.

In 1945 he left the Ballet Theatre and was charged with the organisation of the Dallas Symphony Orchestra, and in 1949 he became Musical Director of the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra, and during his eleven years with them, he was responsible for numerous commissions, world premieres, and American premieres of important works.

From 1963 to 1966 Antal Dorati was Chief Conductor to the BBC Symphony Orchestra, and took the orchestra on a tour of Switzerland in October 1964, and the United States in the Spring of 1965. He has also made a return to opera, and conducts guest performances at Covent Garden, London, the Wiener Staatsoper, the Opera House, Rome, the Hamburg Opera and Maggio Musicale in Florence. He is now principal conductor of the Stockholm Philharmonic Orchestra and with him the orchestra made its first tour of the United States in 1968 with such success that a return tour was arranged for 1970. In October 1970, Antal Dorati was appointed chief conductor of the National Symphony Orchestra, Washington D.C., in addition to his commitments with the Stockholm orchestra.

When the Philharmonia Hungarica was formed in Vienna in 1957, from refugee musicians who had fled Hungary during the 1956 revolution, Antal Dorati was one of the orchestra's first conductors. He made several recordings with them during this period, so that the London project of recording the complete Haydn symphonies with Dorati and the Philharmonia Hungarica represents the renewal of a long-standing association.

Philharmonia Hungarica

Among the hundreds of thousands of refugees who left their home country during the Hungarian Revolution in the late Autumn of 1956 were many musicians, who set out for the free world with their instruments as their only possessions. It was yet another instance of the tragic tradition of the Hungarian history of culture, which, over two decades ago, Béla Bartók summed up in these poignant words: "... One must get away from here, no matter where to ...".

From among these exiled musicians, who, almost without exception, came from the leading Hungarian Symphony Orchestras – as for example the Hungarian National Philharmonia, the Budapest Radio Orchestra and State Opera Orchestra – the Philharmonia Hungarica was formed in Vienna, in the Spring of 1957, thanks to the spontaneous and generous assistance of several philanthropic organizations, mainly the Congress for the Freedom of Culture, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the International Rescue Committee and the Swiss Committee for Aid to the Freedom Fighters of Hungary.

Soon the artists resumed their serious artistic work, which, in a very short time, assured a leading place for this ensemble in the international music world.

The enthusiastic approval met with again and again by them during their many tours in Europe and North America, as well as during musical festivals, is a proof of the importance and vitality of this orchestra.

It is all to the credit of the cultural policy of the Federal German Republic, the regions of North Rhine-Westphalia and the city of Marl, to have recognized the unique value of the Philharmonia Hungarica, and, through generous financial assistance, to have assured the continued existence of an internationally appreciated orchestra.

Many of the members of the Orchestra are winners of valuable music prizes and have successfully taken part in international music competitions. The Ramor Quartet, consisting of instrumentalists from the string sections, gained first prize in the Geneva International Music Competition in 1957, and in 1962 the same prize was awarded to the Wind Quintet of the Philharmonia Hungarica.

Several of the members of the Philharmonia Hungarica were attracted to the career of soloist, others distinguished themselves through invitations to perform with renowned European and American Orchestras. And yet they all resolved, out of a sense of artistic integrity and patriotism, to remain loyal to the commitment of their own orchestra.

As an instance of the reputation enjoyed by the Orchestra with international audiences and press, let me quote the words which a Greek critic wrote on the occasion of a series of concerts at the 1962 Athens International Festival: "Our country – Music! That is the message of religious and patriotic faith one almost hears at a performance of the Philharmonia Hungarica. One also gets the impression that these men and women, who were forced to leave their country against their will, have brought with them, and preserved, not only the music, but – a particle of their home country!"

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Notes on Symphonies 20-35 by H. C. Robbins Landon

It is now well known that the 107 symphonies of Haydn are not in strict chronological order. The great Austrian scholar, Eusebius von Mandyczewski, assembled his list of 104 symphonies in 1907, in connection with the opening volumes (Symphonies Nos. 1-40) of the Breitkopf & Härtel *Gesamtausgabe*, planned to coincide with the centenary celebrations for Haydn's death in 1909. Mandyczewski left out three works, a lost Symphony in D (known to us from Haydn's thematic *Entwurf-Katalog*, about which more will be said *infra*) and two other works which he believed were, respectively, a string Quartet (Opus I, No. 5) and a *Divertimento* or *Partita* in B-flat-both works which modern scholarship has rightly restored to Haydn's symphonic *oeuvre*. As for the chronological order, Mandyczewski used such autographs as were then available (almost all Haydn's autographs are dated), and with other information - mainly the famous Breitkopf Catalogues - he put together a list, the chronological principle of which, as he stated in his foreword, was not to date a work too early. Since 1907, much new information has come to light, even to the rediscovery of dated Haydn autographs. One such manuscript is Symphony No. 40, which Mandyczewski had placed *c* 1770 on the basis of a manuscript dated 1770 in Göttweig Abbey on the Danube. Subsequently the dated autograph turned up and showed that the work had been written in 1763 which meant that it ought to have been inserted in Mandyczewski's list together with Nos. 12 and 13.

The principal sources for dating Haydn's earlier symphonies are: (1) the autographs, such as have survived; (2) dated contemporary copies and entries in catalogues, such as the Breitkopf Catalogues, which were issued almost every year from 1762 to 1787 and which offered for sale MS. and printed copies of the latest music of all *genres*; (3) the period of entry in Haydn's so-called *Entwurf-Katalog*, a running draft catalogue with incipits which the composer began about 1765 and kept till the end of the century or even to about 1805; the entries are sometimes sporadic and often in blocks. But by using dated autographs and other evidence, we can date fairly precisely the various blocks in the *Entwurf-Katalog*. Unfortunately the first pages are missing, and they contained all the early symphonies, entered into the catalogue by Haydn's copyist, Joseph Elssler (whose son Johann was also to be Haydn's principal music copyist). We know this because the page with which *EK* now begins contains the last entry of this large symphonic group (as it happens, the sixth and final work of a group of six miniature symphonies which are entitled *Scherzandi* on most contemporary manuscripts). The situation with regard to the symphonies included in this album is a chronological spectrum ranging from about 1759 to 1768. The following table will, therefore, place the symphonies in chronological rather than numerical order.

Date of composition	*Number*	*Remarks*
c 1759-60	27,32,33	After world War II, an old collection of musical manuscripts from the Library of Counts Festetics in Keszthely Castle was deposited in the National Library at Budapest, which institution also houses the Esterházy Archives. When preparing the first critical edition of Haydn's symphonies, which is used for this recording, the writer of these notes ordered microfilms of this Festetics Collection, which included *inter alia* a whole series of early Haydn symphonies, the copies of which were stamped with the signature of a "Fürnberg Obrist Lieut". It was clear that we were dealing with a member of the family for which Haydn wrote his first string quartets in Weinzierl Castle near Melk (Lower Austria). (It is now thought that it was about 1757 that Haydn composed these quartets for Carl Joseph Edler von Fürnberg at Weinzierl.) In 1759 Haydn was engaged as music director to Count Morzin, who had a pretty summer castle at Lukavec in Bohemia. As is well known, Haydn wrote his earliest symphonies for Morzin. It was not known, however, exactly which symphonies Haydn composed at Lukavec, though the composer himself always maintained that what we know as Symphony No. 1 was actually his first work in the form. The newly discovered collection from Lieut.-Col. von Fürnberg proved to be a sensation. (1) It was a series of works, obviously by a number of Viennese professional copyists, some of whose hands were already well known to us. The copies all appeared - on the evidence of the paper and watermarks - to be very early, perhaps as early as about 1760. (2) It soon became clear that Haydn himself supervised this series; he made small corrections and one major change (in the horn parts of No. 11's opening movement). (3) It soon developed that the Festetics Collection also owned a whole series of Haydn's very earliest quartets, also with holograph corrections by Haydn himself. (These new quartet sources were the basis of the early works printed in the Collected Edition of Haydn's Quartets currently being published by Faber Music, edited by the present writer and Reginald Barrett-Ayres; the edition will be recorded by the Aeolian Quartet for Argo Records, beginning in 1973). Thus the new symphony series was able to establish (1) which symphonies Haydn wrote for Lukavec, *i.e.* between about 1757 (when he probably began writing symphonies) and May 1761 (when he went to Eisenstadt as *Vice-Capellmeister* to Prince Esterházy); the series cannot have been prepared much later than May 1761, because there is no work included in the MSS. which is known to have been composed after Haydn started to compose for Eisenstadt; (2) it established the textual basis for all these early symphonies. The trumpet and timpani parts of No. 33, which are not always present in early sources, are included in the Fürnberg MS. and are thus indisputably genuine; conversely, Symphony No. 37, which exists in one important MS. with trumpets and timpani, is scored in the Fürnberg MS. only for oboes, horns and strings. The Fürnberg symphony MSS. include Nos. 1-5, 10, 11, 15, 18, 27, 32, 33 and 37, and these are Haydn's earliest works in the form, composed for the Morzin family at Lukavec Castle or in Vienna, where the Count spent the winter. It will be seen that as a result of this discovery, the chronological order of Haydn's first forty symphonies has been rendered rather chaotic. No. 27 is found on page one of the *Entwurf-Katalog*, where it was added in Haydn's hand. There are also numbers that Haydn gave to these entries which are quite revealing. The *EK* starts with what is probably page five of the original numbering, and thus the Lukavec symphonies are mostly missing. The first entry is the last of six so-called *Scherzandi*, miniature symphonies that Haydn included among his larger works in the form. Scherzando No. 6 is in Joseph Elssler's hand but with Haydn's "N 20" over it. No. 27, the next entry, is marked "N 12" (thus it belonged to a much earlier group). The third entry, the *incipit* of No. 29 (composed in 1765), is marked "N 40". The *EK* entries for Nos. 32 and 33 are of no chronological interest because they come in sections which were compiled much later, in one case as late as the early nineteenth century when Haydn was preparing his big

Date of composition	*Number*	*Remarks*
c. 1761	20	thematic catalogue known as *HV* (*Haydn-Verzeichnis*). Not included in the Fürnberg MSS., this is stylistically an early work of the festive C major variety. We find it on page two of *EK* where it is one of two entries in pencil that Haydn later added to the top left-hand side of the page: Symphony No. 39 (which Haydn numbered "54") and No. 20 (which Haydn numbered "55"). No. "56", a later addition too (but in ink), is a lost D major symphony. The numbering is also interesting; it carries on until the great series of *Sturm und Drang* symphonies (Nos. 45, 46, *etc.*, all entered later by Haydn on the left-hand side of page one of *EK*. The numbering, as far as we can determine, represents the total of Haydn's symphonic output up to 1769 or thereabouts. It includes, of course, all those works for Lukavec, the early symphonies for Eisenstadt, and also some pieces such as the *Scherzandi*, the Overture to *Lo speziale* (listed as Symphony No. 51 in Haydn's hand), and it probably included the Overture to *Acide*, Symphonies "A" and "B" (as we now call them) and possibly the odd work which we know as a *Divertimento* or *Cassatio* (works such as Hoboken II: 8, 9 and 20 exist in eighteenth-century MSS. as 'Sinfonia'). Symphony No. 20, an afterthought as we have seen, may have been written at the transitional point between Lukavec and Eisenstadt, about 1761. Its first dated reference is in the Breitkopf Catalogue of 1766.
c. 1761-3	25	This is the only work not in *EK*, not in the Kees Catalogue, and not in *HV*, which Mandyczewski included in the list of 104 symphonies. Since then, none of the authorities has doubted the work's authenticity. It is in the so-called *Quartbuch*, a catalogue of an Austrian monastery that somehow came into Haydn's hands and was corrected by him; he crossed out many works erroneously attributed to him; he left No. 25 under his name. The earliest dated references to the work are the thematic catalogues of Sigmaringen Castle (1766) and Breitkopf (1767). Recently, a reliable old MS., by one of the Viennese copyists whom Haydn sometimes employed, has turned up in the Budapest National Library.
1764	21-24	Dated autographs, Esterházy Archives, Budapest.
1765	28-31	Dated autographs, Esterházy Archives, Budapest. Whereas Nos. 21-24 are missing in *EK* (they were obviously on the missing pages), as is No. 30, Nos. 28, 29 and 31 are found in *EK* on page one. They are entered in the order 29, 21 and 28, which is probably the order in which they were composed, No. 30 being the first of the series and included in the lost opening pages.
c. 1766	34	Also missing in the original *EK* Haydn entered the work in another, much later part of the catalogue, and it is found in the second part of *EK* as well. Probably it figured in the opening, lost pages. The earliest dated reference is the Breitkopf Catalogue of 1767.
1 Dec. 1767	35	Dated autograph, Esterházy Archives, Budapest. Göttweig Monastery had already

Date of composition	*Number*	*Remarks*
c 1768	26	acquired the work by 1769. Entered by Haydn on page two of *EK* immediately following *Lo speziale* Overture; *Lo speziale* (Carlo Goldoni) opened the new opera house at Eszterháza and the printed libretto is dated "Autumn of 1768". Following the entry for No. 26 is that to No. 41, of which a Joseph Elssler MS. in Prague is written on paper from the Esterházy mill at Lockenhaus which may be dated 1769. The first dated references to No. 26 are two MSS. in Austrian monasteries, Göttweig and Herzogenburg Abbeys, both dated 1772. No. 26 is one of the few works placed too early in the Mandyczewski list.

Haydn's first important position was as music director and chamber composer to Count Ferdinand Maximilian Morzin, who kept an orchestra at Lukavec Castle near Pilsen; it was Carl Joseph Fürnberg who had recommended Haydn to Morzin. Unfortunately we know nothing of the orchestra members, and nothing about Haydn's circumstances at Lukavec except that he received (as he himself related in later years) the salary of 200 Gulden with board, lodging and *Naturalien* (candles, meat, and so on). In recent years, however, many compositions of the Lukavec period have come to light, particularly in Czechoslovakian archives. It turns out that Haydn wrote several kinds of music at Lukavec - not only symphonies but also a large number of works, mostly sextets, for wind band. It seems that the cultivation of wind band music (it was called, in German, *Harmonie-Musique*) was a Bohemian specialty which at once attracted the young and versatile Haydn, who composed avidly in this new and then exotic medium. The experience he gained thereby proved invaluable for his understanding of wind instruments - their individual colours and the peculiar problems of ensemble which arise when a group of them plays together. Another interesting product of the Morzin years is a *Divertimento* in F (Hoboken II:16) for two violins, two *cors anglais,* two bassoons and two horns, perhaps the first recorded use of English horns in Haydn's music; it was to become an instrument peculiarly associated with the composer, much as the clarinet was to be inseparably connected with Mozart. In Haydn's Symphony No. 22 we have an extraordinary example of his use of *cors anglais (vide infra).*

Although we have no list of orchestral members for the Morzin *Capelle* we have, in the extant compositions of the period, an accurate idea of its constitution (though not, of course, the size of the strings). The *Harmonie-Musique* consisted of oboes or *cors anglais*, bassoons and horns; there were no flutes in the *Capelle*. Apart from the *Harmonie-Musique,* Haydn also had at his disposal two trumpets and kettledrums, which he used, at this period, exclusively in festive works in the key of C major; in this album there are three such festive works (Nos. 20, 32, 33), of which the latter two (Nos. 32, 33) are indisputably Morzin symphonies.

The dates of Haydn's tenure as *Musicdirector und Kammercompositor* to Count Morzin are also vague. The authentic biography by G.A.Griesinger (who saw a good deal of Haydn from 1799 to 1809) gives 1759 as the date of the composer's engagement and 1759 as the date of Symphony No. 1. Yet in recent years, a copy of Symphony No. 37 in the Archives of the Princes Schwarzenberg, Castle Böhmisch Krumau (Český Krumlov), has been discovered which is clearly dated "1758" on the titlepage; and No. 37 is also one of the works in the collection of Lieut.-Col. von Fürnberg and is thus a Lukavec (or rather a Morzin) symphony. When delivering material about his early compositions to Breitkopf & Härtel (through Griesinger), Haydn thought that he began composing symphonies about 1757, a date which would accord with the evidence of the Schwarzenberg copy of Symphony No. 37 - it generally took at least a year for copies of Haydn's newest symphonies to circulate to the Austro-Hungarian provinces. Perhaps Morzin really engaged Haydn in 1757.

Nor do we know the terminal date. The Count is said not to have allowed the members of his *Capelle* to marry; when Haydn made the dire mistake of marrying Maria Anna Keller (daughter of a wigmaker, who was the brother of a violinist in St.Stephan's Cathedral when Haydn had been a chorister) at St.Stephan's on 26 November 1760, are we to assume that Count Morzin had already dismissed his band? The sources tell us that he was forced to do so for financial reasons.

It seems unlikely that the prudent Haydn would have married secretly; perhaps he received a special dispensation from the Count. Haydn had in fact fallen in love with the younger daughter of Keller, but she had taken the veil in 1756. The composer had taught her music and seems to have been beholden to the family altogether, for Keller persuaded him - Griesinger says "auf dringendes Zureden des Friseurs und aus Dankbarkeit gegen ihm" (at the insistent persuasion of the wigmaker and because of obligation to him) - to marry the eldest daughter, three years his senior. It was a disastrous marriage. We will sum it up in the shocked words of a Swedish visitor to Haydn after the first public performance of *The Creation* at Vienna in 1799. The visitor went to call on Haydn, found the composer out but his wife in; the conversation fell on *The Creation*; in hideous Viennese dialect Maria Anna *née* Keller said, "People say it's

The High Altar of St.Stephen's Cathedral where Haydn was married in 1760. Engraving from Beschreibung der Metropolitankirche zu St.Stephan, *Vienna, 1779. Budapest National Library.*

The High Altar of St. Stephen's Cathedral

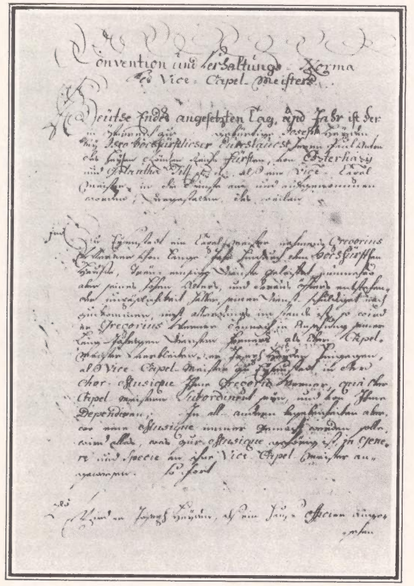
very good; I wouldn't know". The Swedish visitor concluded that "she was neither educated nor musical". Haydn came "and his wife trotted off, surrounded by her dogs and cats. . . .".

We suppose it was in the autumn of 1760 that Morzin decided to abandon his very expensive orchestra perhaps they continued in his service until Easter 1761. The Count spent the winters in Vienna, and it was probably there that Prince Paul Anton Esterházy heard a concert of Haydn's. In the Eisenstadt catalogues, we note that as early as 1760, a new Haydn symphony was acquired. At any rate, as soon as Haydn was free, Prince Esterházy engaged him, as *Vice-Capellmeister,* in May 1761. Haydn was to receive 400 Gulden, or twice that which he had received from Count Morzin, and the usual other benefits. The contract reads as follows:

This day (according to the date hereto appended) Joseph Heyden (sic), native of Rohrau in Austria, is accepted and appointed Vice-Capellmeister in the service of his Serene Highness Prince Paul Anton, Prince of the Holy Roman Empire of Eszterháza and Galantha, etc., subject to conditions here following:

1. Whereas the Capellmeister at Eisenstadt, namely

Page One of Haydn's contract signed on 1st.May, 1761, in Vienna. Budapest, State Archives.



Gregorious Werner, having devoted many years of true and faithful service to the Princely house, is now, on account of his great age and infirmities, unfit to perform the duties incumbent on him, it is hereby declared that the said Gregorious Werner, in consideration of his long services, shall retain the post of Capellmeister, and the said Joseph Heyden as Vice-Capellmeister shall, so far as regards the music of the choir, be subordinate to the Capellmeister and receive his instructions. But in everything else relating to musical performances, and in all that concerns the orchestra, the Vice-Capellmeister shall have the sole direction.

2. The said Joseph Heyden shall be considered and treated as a member of the household Therefore his Serene Highness is graciously pleased to place confidence in his conducting himself as becomes an honourable offical of a princely house. He must be temperate, not showing himself overbearing towards his musicians, but mild and lenient, straightforward and composed. It is especially to be observed that when the orchestra shall be summoned to perform before company, the Vice-Capellmeister and all the musicians shall appear in uniform and the said Joseph Heyden shall take care that he and all the members of his orchestra follow the instructions given, and appear in white stockings, white linen, powdered, and with either a queue or a tiewig.

3. Whereas the other musicians are referred for directions to the said Vice-Capellmeister, he shall therefore take the more care to conduct himself in an exemplary manner, abstaining from undue familiarity and from vulgarity in eating, drinking and conversation, not dispensing with the respect due to him, but acting uprightly and influencing his subordinates to preserve such harmony as is becoming in them, remembering how displeasing the consequences of any discord or dispute would be to his Serene Highness.

4. The said Vice-Capellmeister shall be under obligation to compose such music as his Serene Highness may command, and neither to communicate such compositions to any other person, nor to allow them to be copied, but he shall retain them for the absolute use of his Highness, and not compose for any other person without the knowledge and permission of his Highness.

5. The said Joseph Heyden shall appear daily in the antechamber before and after midday, and inquire whether his Highness is pleased to order a performance of the orchestra. On receipt of his orders he shall communicate them to the other musicians, and take care to be punctual at the appointed time, and to ensure punctuality in his subordinates, making a note of those who arrive late or absent themselves altogether.

6. Should any quarrel or cause of complaint arise, the Vice-Capellmeister shall endeavour to arrange it in order that his Serene Highness may not be incommoded with trifling disputes; but should any more serious difficulty occur, which the said Joseph Heyden is unable to set right, his Serene Highness must then be respectfully called upon to decide the matter.

7. The said Vice-Capellmeister shall take careful charge of all music and musical instruments, and be responsible for any injury that may occur to them from carelessness or neglect.

8. The said Joseph Heyden shall be obliged to instruct the female vocalists, in order that they may not forget in the country that which they have been taught with much effort and expense in Vienna, and, as the said Vice-Capellmeister is proficient on various instruments, he shall take care himself to practise on all with which he is acquainted.

9. A copy of this agreement and instructions shall be given to the said Vice-Capellmeister and his subordinates, in order that he may be able to hold them to their obligations therein established.

10. It is considered unnecessary to set forth in detail the services required of the said Joseph Heyden, more particularly since his Serene Highness is pleased to hope that of his own free will he would strictly observe not only these regulations, but all others that may from time to time be made by his Highness, and that he will place the orchestra on such a footing, and in such good order, that he may bring honour upon himself and deserve the further favour of the Prince his master, who thus confides in his zeal and discretion.

11. A yearly salary of four hundred florins (Gulden) to be received in quarterly payments is hereby bestowed by his Serene Highness upon the said Vice-Capellmeister.

12. In addition, the said Joseph Heyden shall board at the officers' table, or receive a half-Gulden per day in lieu thereof.

13. Finally, this agreement shall hold good for at least three years from May 1, 1761, with the further condition that if at the conclusion of this term the said Joseph Heyden shall desire to leave the service, he shall give his Highness six months' previous notice of his intention.

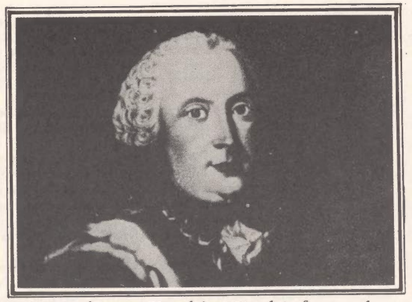
14. His Serene Highness undertakes to keep Joseph Heyden in his service during this time, and should he be satisfied with him, he may look forward to being appointed Capellmeister. This, however, must not be understood to deprive his Serene Highness of the right to dismiss the said Joseph Heyden at the expiration of the term, should he see fit do so.

Duplicate copies of this document shall be executed and exchanged. Given at Vienna this first day of May, 1761.

Ad mandatum Celsissimi Principis

Johann Stifftel, Secret.

This remarkable document has, of course, been the subject of endless discussion, social, musical, and in recent years political: in eastern European countries it is, as one might expect, cited as the perfect example of Capitalistic exploitation of the artist. Without wishing to enter into a Marxist debate on the subject, we would nevertheless observe that as far as Haydn was concerned, he obtained a security from the Esterházy family which enabled him to retire, as an old man, in comfort. Not only did Haydn later witness Mozart's shameful poverty and death, but he could also observe the fate of one of his contemporaries, Carl Ditters (later von Dittersdorf), with whom precisely at this period - Haydn was on friendly terms. The two man, both respected composers in the early 1760s, often listened to music by other masters. "About each new piece", relates Dittersdorf in his autobiography, "that we heard by other composers, we made our judgement *tête-à-tête;* we approved of that which was good and objected to that which required objections". Dittersdorf rose high; he was even raised to the nobility; but that did not prevent him dying in utter poverty, his desk drawer full of symphonies, quartets and harpsichord music that no one would purchase or perform, in an obscure Bohemian village in 1799. He and his family were the guests of a sympathetic Count who literally prevented this once world-famous composer from dying of starvation. With a sure sense of what might one day be his similar fate, Haydn became a great diplomat, the ideal go-between in a situation which, in another man's hands, might have been explosive. (Consider Beethoven's having to organize a similar position. . .) Haydn won the hearts of his musicians and the respect of his Prince. In only one respect did



Prince Paul Anton Esterházy, Haydn's first employer of the Esterházy family.Oil painting from the Esterházy collection. Photo: From the collection of H.C.Robbins Landon, Buggiano/Vienna.

The Bergkirche in Eisenstadt. Unsigned 17th century engraving. Budapest National Museum.

he fail, and that was in the case of the crotchety old Gregor Werner who, as an Establishment composer of severe church music, had perhaps forgotten his own youth when he, too, had written gay secular music and popular organ concertos. To a man of Werner's ideas, Haydn's modern music was complete frippery and frivolry; the old man described his hated *Vice-Capellmeister* as "a mere fop", "a scribbler of songs" (in Austrian dialect *G'sanglmacher*). Just before the angry and jealous Werner died, he wrote a letter to the Prince "from his sick-bed" dated October 1765, in which he accused Haydn of lack of discipline, of a chaotic condition of the music in the choir loft, of the instruments' neglect (Werner even suggests that some had been pilfered), and so forth. It is an appalling document. It called forth a stern reprimand from the Prince - who was now Nicolaus I "The Magnificent", he having succeeded his brother Prince Paul Anton upon the latter's death in 1762. "Finally", reads the reprimand, "*Capel Meister* Haydn is urgently enjoined to apply himself to composition more diligently than heretofore, and especially to write such pieces as can be played on the gamba (baryton), of which pieces we have seen very few up to now; and to be able to judge his diligence, he shall at all times send us the first copy, cleanly and carefully written, of each and every new composition." Haydn rejoined in a characteristically subtle way: by the *Entwurf-Katalog,* to which constant reference has been made in these notes. It showed in a dramatic way that Haydn had, by October 1765, written a very large amount of music for the court at Eisenstadt, also including many baryton works. But being a diplomat, Haydn immediately dashed off some more baryton trios, and on 4 January 1766, Prince Nicolaus writes from Eszterháza Castle to his Estates Manager von Rahier: "... This very moment I received 3 pieces from Hayden (sic), and I am very satisfied with them. You will therefore see that he gets 12 ducats from the cashier's office in my name; tell him at the same time to write 6 more pieces similar to those he sent me, and also 2 solo pieces, and to see that they are sent here at once. . .". By the time Werner died, on 5 March 1766, Haydn's diplomacy had won the day and he was promoted to full *Capellmeister.*

Prince Paul Esterházy, Haydn's first patron, had travelled widely through Italy and Germany and had amassed a large collection of foreign music, especially French vocal music and Italian instrumental music (including works like Vivaldi's *Seasons*). He played the violin and violoncello and took an active interest in the *Capelle,* of which Werner had been *Capellmeister* since 1728. As early as 1759, the Prince had engaged new musicians and also sent his leader, Luigi Tomasini, on a study trip to Venice. When Haydn was appointed, the orchestra was again enlarged; in 1761 the regular instrumental group consisted of one flute, two oboes, two bassoons, two horns, three violins and violoncello. There was, moreover, a church *Capelle* which included, apart from the singers, a couple of violins, a violoncello and a double bass. Many of the players were proficient on other instruments also; two new horn players were engaged in 1763, both of whom could play string bass instruments as well. The musicians were generally resident at Eisenstadt from 1761 to 1765, though occasionally they were transported to one of the princely lordships elsewhere. In the autumn of 1764, the whole *Capelle* was taken to the pretty Castle at Kittsee, owned by the Esterházy family, which was across the river from Pressburg (Bratislava, ČSSR). The harpsichord at Kittsee was in ill repair and the organ-builder from Pressburg had to come and adjust it, "for which I paid him two Gulden", wrote Haydn on 20 Nov. 1764.

Musical concerts at Eisenstadt were held by the entire orchestra on Tuesdays and Saturdays from two to four o'clock in the afternoon. "All the musicians are to appear". As long as Wernér was alive, Haydn wisely concentrated on symphonic music, only occasionally venturing to compose vocal music (such as various cantatas for Nicolaus's name-day, 6 December, of which several have survived from the years 1763 and 1764). Haydn sometimes played the violin and sometimes conducted from the harpsichord, giving himself an elaborate solo part in the Esterházy Cantata "Qual dubbio" of 1764. The disposition of the scores for Symphonies Nos. 6-8, the first which Haydn wrote at Eisenstadt in 1761, shows that he required at least three first and three second violins, two violas, two cellos and one double bass (possibly two). He had the possibility of recruiting musicians from the local Parish Church St.Martin, and also from the town of *Thurnermeister;* but in the period 1761-5, Haydn never seems to have required trumpets and drums at Eisenstadt except in an occasional work for the church (such as the *Te Deum* for Prince Nicolaus) and the odd C major symphony. By 1763 there were four rather than two horns, and we shall note the most spectacular use to which Haydn ever put the four horns in the *Symphonie mit dem Hornsignal* (No. 31 of 1765).

In 1766, not only did Werner die and Haydn become *Capellmeister* but Prince Nicolaus opened Eszterháza Castle on the south side of the Neusiedlersee. Gradually the court came to spend increasingly more time at Eszterháza where, in 1768, the Prince inaugurated an opera house with his *Capellmeister's* opera *Lo speziale.* After Werner's death, Haydn turned his full attention to vocal music. The first major work to follow his appointment as Chapel Master was the *Missa Cellensis in honorem Beatissimae Virginis Mariae* the autograph manuscript of which, dated 1766, has recently come to light in Bucharest (it is printed in facsimile in the *Haydn Yearbook* IX). This enormous work, a so-called cantata mass, was apparently written for the pilgrimage church of Mariazell in Styria, for which Haydn was, many years later (1782), to compose the other *Missa Cellensis* which is now known as the"Mariazellermesse". Perhaps the first *Missa Cellensis,* which used to be known as the *Missa Sanctae Caeciliae,* is a private prayer of thanks to the Virgin for its composer's new honour as princely Chapel Master. Following this large mass, Haydn then set to work on an equally large *Stabat Mater* (the first critical edition of which is in the process of publication by Faber Music), which he wrote in 1767. The next year he composed another Mass, alas lost, which was in D minor; next to its *incipit* in *EK,* Haydn wrote the curious title, *Missa Sunt bona mixta malis.* In 1768 or 1769 Haydn then wrote still another Marian Mass, the *Missa in honorem B.V.M.* known as the Great

Organ Mass. It can be seen that he had very little time for symphonies, especially as in 1766, the first small opera for Eisenstadt was composed: *La canterina,* given in the great hall of the Castle for a private audience and then publicly performed in 1767 at Pressburg. All this activity with church and opera meant that the symphonies suddenly dwindled to a trickle. The two works in this album, Nos. 35 and 26, are of 1767 and c. 1768, and the latter shows in a graphic way Haydn's involvement with church music since the death of his predecessor.

Prince Nicolaus "The Magnificent" became Haydn's patron in 1762. The Prince was a highly cultivated man with a despotic side to his nature which it took some time for Haydn to subdue; Nicolaus wrote and spoke beautiful Italian and French, he also knew Latin and of course German; he played with tolerable efficiency an instrument known as the baryton, a kind of viola da gamba with sympathetic vibrating strings. When Haydn's *La canterina* was first given in the garden of the Prince Archbishop of Pressburg in 1767, Esterházy also played on the baryton - no doubt trios or duos (or perhaps even solos) by his already very famous *Capellmeister.* Nicolaus was in fact a passionate music-lover and his special dream was to have regular Italian opera at his court: a dream which, with the services of Haydn and a band of imported Italian singers, the Prince was able to realize in full from 1776 to 1790, when Eszterháza was abandoned after Nicolaus died.

The symphonies here under discussion offer a small cross-section of Haydn's activities with Morzin and then with the Esterházy court from May 1761 to about 1768, when the centre gradually began to shift from Eisenstadt to Eszterháza, and from instrumental music to vocal music - first religious, then operatic.

When Haydn required copies of his Morzin symphonies for Lieut.-Col. von Fürnberg, he used the services of various Viennese copyists, some of whom were so accurate that Haydn continued to employ them until the middle of the 1770s. Whether these over-worked gentlemen were always scrupulously honest is another matter. Mozart tells how one of the professional copyists wrote everything by Haydn double. "I really have (Haydn's) latest symphonies", he writes to his father on 15 May 1784 - obviously before he knew Haydn personally. As the Rohrau composer became increasingly famous, the Viennese copyists began to establish a profitable business in selling illegal copies of Haydn symphonies - often from an authentic set of parts which served as the "blueprint" - to anyone who would pay a few Gulden. Haydn himself soon realized that the professional copyists were making a fortune out of his music, and he must have pointed out to Prince Esterházy that (1) there was nothing a composer could do against pirated copies or even pirated prints and (2) it would be better to let Haydn himself do the selling, even if this

The Esterházy Palace at Eisenstadt. Engraving, Budapest National Museum.

View of Eisenstadt (Kismarton). Engraving by Matthias Greischer, 1697. Budapest National Museum.

violated the stipulation that the Prince was to be the sole owner of all his *Capellmeister's* products. It seems clear that Prince Nicolaus soon allowed Haydn a certain leeway in selling official copies of his symphonies, particularly if they were a few years old and not in the Eisenstadt repertoire any longer. Thus we find Haydn selling copies of Symphonies Nos. 21 and 29 (and also No. 14) to Dr.Stocker, a physician from Linz, from whose legacy they were acquired by the St.Florian Monastery in Upper Austria; the copies were made by Joseph Elssler, Haydn's copyist at this period.

The Austrian monasteries were great collectors of Haydn's symphonies. No. 20, a work which circulated less widely among the monasteries than many of its numerical companions, was owned by the Abbeys of Rottenmann and Admont, both in the province of Styria. No. 22, a popular work, was owned by Göttweig (1772), Seitenstetten (1773), Kremsmünster Schlägl and Zwettl; No. 23 by Lambach and Melk as well as Michaelbeuern near Salzburg; No. 26 - another popular work - was collected by Göttweig (1772), Herzogenburg (1772), Schlägl, Kremsmünster, Melk and the Tyrolean Abbey of Stams.

Even these early symphonies soon travelled to northern Italy, and especially Venice. The Biblioteca Marciana owns several interesting sets of Haydn's symphonies made by local copyists from Austrian sources. One set of "XII Sinfonie Del Sigr. Giuseppe Haydn" contains Nos. 1, 18, 9, 3, 5, 19, 37, 25, 33 and 4, while another, "VI Sinfonie Del Sigr. Giuseppe Haydn" includes Nos. 11, 23 a spurious work in C (Hoboken I: C 19; Landon Appendix II[1] No. 19), 10, 5 and 3.

The great German princely houses at Donaueschingen (Fürstenberg), Regensburg (Thurn und Taxis) and Harburg or Wallerstein (Oettingen-Wallerstein) also ordered most of Haydn's latest symphonies from Viennese copyists; both Regensburg and Harburg own copies of Nos. 20, 21, 22, 23, 26, 29, 30, 34 and 35; almost all the others were owned by one of the two.

Readers of the notes to the other albums of this series will recall that Haydn was soon an immensely popular composer in France; that in Paris his latest symphonies and quartets were eagerly printed; and that such a brisk business in Haydn came into being that it proved profitable for those French publishers to pirate all sorts of spurious works by *seguaci* of Haydn's such as Ditters(dorf), Ordoñez, Leopold Hofmann, Vanhal and especially Haydn's talented brother, Johann Michael, first (c. 1757-61) Chapel Master at Grosswardein (now Oradea Mare in Roumania) and after 1763 *Conzertmeister* in Salzburg. All these spurious works were sold to the French public as genuine Haydn, who of course saw no royalties either from these spurious products or from his own pirated French publications. It was in January 1764 that "Six Symphonies ou Quatuors Dialogués. . . Composés par M[r] Hayd'en (sic) Maître de Musique à Vienne", published by M.de la Chevardière, created a sensation in the Parisian musical world; they were Haydn's first string quartets. Chevardière immediately followed with further sets of Haydn's music, which he probably obtained from Viennese copyists or travelling virtuoso musicians: his second gathering was "Six Sonates en Trio pour deux violons & basse" (1765) followed by another set of "Six Symphonies ou Quatuor (sic) Dialogués" (1766) which included string quartets, a sextet with two horns (Hoboken II; 21) and a spurious *Divertimento* by Carlos d'Ordoñez.

Haydn soon had the opportunity of establishing contact with the French publishers. In November

1) *The Symphonies of Joseph Haydn,* London 1955.

1767, Prince Nicolaus Esterházy made a trip to Paris, with an entourage which included his personal secretary, his *Haushofmeister,* his architect, his "Travelling Commissioner" (*Reisekommisär),* five *valets-de-chambre* (among them a barber and a blackamoor named Zibas), his gun-master, a page, two runners and Luigi Tomasini, leader of the band. Prince Nicolaus again visited Versailles, which he had first seen in 1764 and which had been the inspiration for Eszterháza Castle in Hungary. He quitted Paris on 14 November 1767, leaving Tomasini behind to study the musical situation in what was then the unquestioned musical centre of the world. The *Haushofmeister* gave Tomasini the handsome sum of 125 *livres* for his further sojourn.

It is entirely likely that Haydn will have given Tomasini some music to take with him to sell in Paris; perhaps also letters, such as to the German emigré, Jean-Georges Sieber, with whom Haydn was in personal contact in the 1780s. Is it a coincidence that M.de la Chevardière issued in April 1768 (*via* an announcement in the *Mercure de France*) another set of "Six Symphonies ou Quatuor (*sic*) Dialogués"? This time Haydn's new music was entitled *Oeuvre IV* and included Symphony No. 33, a *Divertimento* in G (II:9), and Symphonies 32, 15, "B" (I:108) and 25 - all with the wind parts omitted but in textually accurate copies. From his shop, M.de la Chevardière "Marchand de Musique du Roi, Rue de Roule à la Croix d'Or", circulated Haydn's first works throughout France; he had a principal agent in Lyon at M.Castaud who had a shop opposite the theatre. It was these French prints that first brought Haydn to the attention of English musicians; the string Quartets were rapidly reprinted in London by Bremner.

As a matter of interest we append here a list of the French editions of the symphonies included in this volume; the list has been arranged in chronological order.

Date	*Work(s)*	*Publisher*
Apr.1768	33 *etc.*	M.de la Chevardière Oeuvre IV. *Vide supra.*
Oct.1769	*Six Symphonies:* a spurious work by Herffert; Nos. 29, 28, 9 and 3.	"M.Bailleux, Maître de Musique, rue S.Honoré, à la Règle d'or"; listed as Oeuvre VII. Announced in the *Avantcoureur* on 2 October 1769.
May 1770	No. 22	"Chez le S^{r}. Borrelly Rue S^{t}.Victor vis-à-vis le ferme maison d'un sellier". Announced in the *Affiches, Annonces & Avis divers* on 7 May 1770.
Sept.1770	*Six Symphonies:* No. 30 and five (!) spurious symphonies by, resp., Dussek, anonymous, Michael Haydn (aut. May 1768), Michael Haydn (aut. 25 Jan. 1764), anonymous.	Oeuvre IX, "Chez Madame Berault, Marchande de Musique, Rue de la Comédie Françoise, Faubourg S^{t} Germain au Dieu de l'Harmonie, announced in *Affiches &c.*on 13 Sept.1770.
Dec.1771	*IV Sinfonie è Quartetti* by Haydn (Symphony No. 35) and three spurious works by, resp., Joseph Schmitt, Ditters and Schmitt.	Opéra XII. "Chez M^{r}. Venier Editeur de plusieurs ouvrages de musique, Rue S^{t}.Thomas du Louvre vis-à-vis le Château d'Eau".
May 1772	*Six Sinfonie,* incl. *Divertimento* in F (II: 20), Nos. 59, 34 and two spurious works, one either by J.C.Bach or Mitcha (Mica) and the other by Ditters.	Oeuvre XIV."Chez Madame Berault" &c. *vide supra.*
Feb.1773	*III Sinfonie,* incl. No. 22 in a version which will be discussed *infra* (omitting the opening slow movement), Nos. 58 and No. 39 without the Minuet.	Opéra XV. "Chez M^{r}. Venier, Editeur" &c. *vide supra.*
Mar.1779	*Trois Simphonies,* incl.a spurious symphony by Sarti, and Nos. 20 and 38.	No opus number, but set dedicated to Madame d'Alleray. "Gravées par M^{elle} de Silly. . Chez M^{elle} de Silly, M^{de} de Musique, Rue de Temple, près celle

Hunting with hounds. Engraving by J.E Ridinger (1698-1767)

Date	Work(s)	Publisher
		de Montmorency." M^elle^. de Silly received a new royal privilege for these works on 1 Oct. 1778.

Paris was, of course, not the only centre of publishing, and we find J.J.Hummel, first at Amsterdam and then at Berlin, becoming one of Haydn's principal publishers. At the beginning, Hummel obviously pirated his Haydn works, including spurious ones; later he seems to have been in some kind of touch with the composer. In 1770, Hummel brought out the earliest edition of Haydn's Symphony No. 35 in a collection "Composées de Diverses Auteurs" with works also by Klöffler, Vanhal, J.C.Bach and Toeschi; a few years later, in 1774, he published the Haydn as a single edition. In 1772 Hummel brought out "Trois Simphonies. . .Oeuvre X" by Haydn, which included Nos. 41, a work by Michael Haydn (autograph: 27 September 1766) and No. 20 - naturally Michael's music was always sold as Joseph's, or rather as "M.Haydn" or "Sig. Haydn"; we shall see that Hummel the great pirater of Haydn's muse probably stole the edition of No. 41 from Sieber, while Hummel himself was pirated by Thompson, who brought out No. 20 as well as No. 10 (which had also been published by Hummel) in an edition entitled "Six Symphonies for two violins, two hautboys, two horns, a tenor (viola) and violoncello composed by F.X. Richter, G.Haydn, and K.C.Spangenberg. Pr. 10/6. London. Printed for C. & S. Thompson No. 75, S^t^.Paul's Church Yard" - an edition which was announced about 1775. Another British publisher, Welcker "in Gerrard Street Soho", issued Haydn's Symphony No. 35 together with other symphonies by the Princess Royal of Saxony, Vanhal, Stamitz and Mislevecheck, "the whole collected by Antonio Kammell" and announced in the *Public Advertiser* on 7 January 1773. It was also a British publisher who brought out the first edition of the *Hornsignal* Symphony No. 31 under the title "A concertante Sinfonia". The publisher, William Forster, was already in communication with Haydn about the period when No. 31 was issued (c. 1786) but there is no evidence that the composer had anything to do with the work's tardy publication. About the same time, Sieber in Paris issued the work as "Simphonie périodique No. 19" with the subtitle "Sinfonia Concertante". Apparently Sieber pirated from Forster or perhaps *vice versa*.

The editions of these symphonies were inaccurate, sporadic and mixed up with spurious works; but they spread Haydn's name throughout Europe and were the principal means for listeners outside the Austro-Hungarian monarchy to hear his latest music.

Naturally Haydn's reputation was clouded by having so many dozens of spurious and in part distinctly second-and even third- rate works attached to his name; posterity has eventually sorted out that which is genuine from that which is spurious, and has also established some kind of chronological order; so that, rather grotesquely, we, listening to the first complete commercial recording of Haydn's symphonies, are in a far better position to judge his muse in this form than even the most cultivated and discriminating connoisseur in Paris, who was offered (and who could scarcely have been in a position always to be able to tell the difference between) six spurious Haydn symphonies for every half-dozen genuine articles.

Symphony No. 20 in C. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns in C (probably *alto*), 2 trumpets, timpani, strings, to which have been added a bassoon and harpsichord *continuo*. We have seen that this festive C major work does not figure among the known Morzin pieces and that Haydn added it later in his *Entwurf-Katalog*. Naturally there must have been a slight gap between the end of Haydn's tenure with Count Morzin and the beginning of his duties at Eisenstadt in May 1761. We know, for example, that Haydn was soon in some kind of contact with the great Austrian monasteries. The Benedictine Abbey of Göttweig was the first such institution to acquire a Michael Haydn mass (in the late 1750s), and Joseph's music figures there as early as 1762 (Symphonies 3, 4, 5 *etc.*). They went on collecting Haydn's music for years, and it is difficult to believe that the composer had no personal contact with the monastery. Another great Benedictine Abbey, that of Kremsmünster in Upper Austria, also avidly collected Haydn's music beginning with the early quartets which they acquired in the year 1762. When compiling the Elssler Catalogue of 1805 (*HV*), Haydn went through *EK* and made all sorts of notes; beside the *incipit* of the *Applausus* Cantata (1768) he wrote "in lateinischer Sprach bey gelegenheit einer Praelats Wahl zu Krems-Münster" (in the Latin tongue on the occasion of an Abbot's Election at Krems-Münster). We now know that Haydn, who wrote this note after 1800, made a mistake; the Cantata was written for Zwettl Monastery. But Haydn clearly remembered writing something for Kremsmünster, and in fact we know that he had some kind of contact with the Abbey because in the library there is still an authentic copy of Symphony No. 67 (by Joseph Elssler and Johann Schellinger). Among the many Austrian monasteries that collected Haydn, we might single out the Benedictine Abbey of Melk on the Danube, where we find Haydn copies as early as 1765, and a collection of some eighty Haydn symphonies.

This short exposé is by way of a preface to the first festive C major work in this album. We have seen in many other examples that these works, with their high horns and/or trumpets with kettledrums, were often composed for some special occasion, such as the visit to Eszterháza Castle of the Empress Maria Theresa; or to honour an Austrian Field Marshal such as General Laudon. We wonder if Haydn did not occasionally compose a festive symphony of this kind for an Austrian monastery such as Göttweig or Melk or Kremsmünster, particularly about the end of the year 1760 or the beginning of 1761, when he may have been without a position for a month or two. The glittering sound of this symphony would fit well in the *Prunksaal* of one of the great Austrian abbeys, with their stupendous Baroque architecture and elaborate painted ceilings in the manner of Tiepolo. It is generally fruitless to try to match Austrian Baroque to music of the period, and Austrian historians generally prefer to ally Bruckner to S^t^.Florian (even to its interior architecture) rather than Haydn; yet in this slightly impersonal and brilliant C major Symphony there is much of the wordly pomp that surrounded the great Austrian Baroque monastic buildings of the eighteenth century; it was Art for the eye and the intellect.

As we have come to expect with Haydn's symphonies of c. 1760, the wind instruments are omitted not only in the slow movement - a graceful-*Andante cantabile* held together with a running second violin part - but also in the Trio of the *Menuet*. The Finale is in a large-scale A-B-A form, the "B" section being in the tonic minor and without trumpets and timpani; the movement shows its finale character in the quick metre (*Presto*, 3/8) but also in the choice of form, and this is the main difference between it and the first movement, which also uses a quick metre (*Allegro molto*, 2/4) but is, of course, in pre-classical sonata form. By pre-classical we mean that although there are even two main subjects, the second one in the dominant, the development section is not that which we know from "high classical" music such as Haydn's *Paris* or *London* Symphonies, or Mozart's mature symphonies. At this period (c. 1760), the development is more in the nature of a contrasting middle section. But unlike the "B" section of the Finale, the middle section of the first movement contains motivic extensions of the previous thematic material and the lead-back to the recapitulation is of much more dramatic proportions than the same passage in the Finale. This accent-

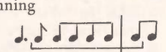
Prince Nikolaus' baryton with the carved head of a Hungarian "hajdú" Budapest. National Museum Collection of Musical Instruments.

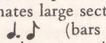
uation of the recapitulation by preparing its arrival is, in fact, a hallmark of the later Viennese classical style; here, in No. 20, it is in the nature of a pedal point on the dominant, with soft punctuation from the trumpets and timpani; later, as in No. 102, this soft timpani punctuation will become a thrilling *crescendo* which propels the music into the blazing re-statement of the opening thematic material. That was a quarter-of-a-century later. . . .

Symphony No. 21 in A. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns, strings, to which have been added a bassoon and harpsichord *continuo*. This is the first of four works of the year 1764, all of which have survived in autograph; No. 21 also survives in authentic performance material by Joseph Elssler (S^t^.Florian Abbey in Upper Austria). It is composed in the old Italian *sonata da chiesa* form, the church sonata of the Corelli period with its entire opening slow movement. Haydn was much attracted to this form in his youth and wrote quartets, string trios and Symphonies Nos. 5, 11, 18, 21, 22, 34 and 49 in this fashion. In the exquisite and formally brilliant *Adagio* of No.21, we notice that the wind instruments have suddenly become vitally important, dividing the whole opening thematic material with the strings. Note, too, the new dynamic mark *mezzo f* which the viola is given when it accompanies the wind instruments (bar 4). The whole *Adagio* is in free form without any double bar, and is a remarkably early specimen of monothematicism: the opening figure

carries the whole movement. After the first section we find this figure in the second violins, and when we reach the dominant, the figure is given to the bass line in a passage of great beauty and intensity (bars 29ff.). The recapitulation introduces the little theme in a breathtaking *pianissimo* and in *stretto* - that is, the theme is brought in, voice by voice, in a "narrow" time interval.

After the melodic and structural intensity of this opening *Adagio*, Haydn needs to provide a huge contrast; he does this by writing a movement marked *Presto* (four-four) in which a tight rhythmic control is felt throughout. The very beginning



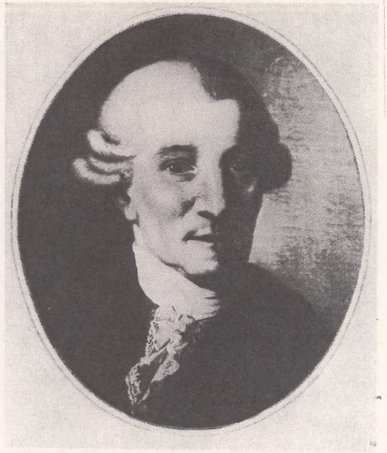
turns out to be what German musicologists call a *Kopfmotif* (nowadays translated as "head motif", a phrase of which Dr.Johnson would not have approved); it dominates large sections of the music, also in its derivative  (bars 21 ff.). As the Symphony progresses we observe an interesting fact: that the highpoint of the work was the opening *Adagio* and that the rest of the Symphony is a gradual descent from that pinnacle; the same may be said to apply to all Haydn's church-sonata symphonies and this,

Detail from the ceiling of the church of Schloss Ludwigsburg, painted by Carlo Carlone c.1720.

essentially, was probably why he abandoned the form. The symphony as such always tended, even in its primitive Italian-opera-overture state, to be head-loaded, that is to say, the greatest intellectual, or in the case of the Italian overtures the noisiest, parts eame at the beginning; the same applied to the Austrian chamber symphony, in which interest centred round the first two movements and the minuet (if there was one) and the finale tapered off and relaxed the intellectual pressure. In a *sonata da chiesa* this element was even more accentuated, especially when the form was applied to the top-heavy Austrian chamber symphony. Haydn of course cannot avoid his own trap, but he finds delightful ways to make the let-down a pleasant one. (It will be noted that the first eight notes of the *Menuet* were taken over *verbatim* by Mozart in his *Eine kleine Nachtmusik*, an interesting case of Mozart assimilating a piece in his youth and later putting it to good use in his mature music). The *Menuet* is no longer a dance movement

but is slightly quicker: the basic beat is now crotchets, and the music is disturbed only by a few "Scottish snaps" (here one would say Hungarian rhythms) in the middle. To see the difference between this and a real minuet, think of the famous movement in Mozart's *Don Giovanni*, Act II, which is of course much slower. The Finale is again intensely rhythmic and we notice that it bolsters up the work at the end. Haydn has composed an *Allegro molto* which is formally much more like an opening movement than a Finale; though the thematic material, with its syncopations, would not have done for an opening allegro. To emphasize this first movement feeling - first movement in an ordinary sonata-form movement, of course - Haydn links the rhythmic structure to his previous fast movement: the bracketed portion of the musical example above will be seen to dominate large tracts of the Finale. It is curious to find that Haydn made some rather important changes in this movement after he had completed the autograph; these changes are incorporated in the St.Florian parts and mainly concern enlarged oboe parts (bars 76-80), supplementary oboe phrasing and, at the end, different second horn notes. Since all the orchestral materials of the period 1761-1779 burned up in the great fire at Eszterháza, a source such as St.Florian's for this Symphony is invaluable since it shows that which we must have suspected anyway, that Haydn made many changes in his works which have probably not survived, or survived only in a Bowdlerized way.

Symphony No. 22 in E flat ('Philosoph'). Scoring: 2 *cors anglais*, 2 horns, strings, to which a bassoon and harpsichord *continuo* have been added. Usually, the names attached to Haydn's symphonies are silly if not downright fatuous (*The Bear, The Hen*), but in this case, someone had a rather better idea than usual: there is definitely something of the philosopher in this extraordinary Symphony, which was known under that name in Haydn's lifetime (in the Biblioteca Estense at Modena we find the work listed as *Le Philosoph*). Haydn told his biographer Griesinger that he had once written a symphony in which God the Father talks to an unrepentant sinner: can this "dialogue", as one says nowadays, be the first movement, in chorale prelude form, where the French horns intone the first part of chorale *ff* and the cors anglais answer, also *ff*. We say chorale prelude form, because we seem to be dealing with a chorale and not a sophisticated application of the Vivaldi *ritornello*, though the principles are the same; the chorale (or in Vivaldi language the orchestral *ritornello*) returns in several keys, *viz* I (the opening), V (strings only, after the double bar, 23ff.), IV with *cors anglais* (bars 30ff.), II with *cors anglais* (bars 33f.), III with horns (bars 40f.) and then the recapitulation. By this brief scheme one can see that Haydn has delicately combined an old Baroque tonal scheme with sonata



Joseph Haydn, 1785 by C.L.Seehas.

form. In this deliberate return to antique principles and Baroque virtues, we note the beautiful Corelli -like suspensions with the walking bass for just the strings and *continuo* (bars 50ff., just after the return of the first "dialogue" between French and English horns): as always, this signifies a point of great emotional stress, as it did in the slow movement of *Le Matin* (No. 6).

The highpoint of the Symphony is obviously this opening *Adagio* round (or rather following) which the rest of the work was written. As with No. 21, in the following *Presto* (four-four) we have the strongest contrast, and it is interesting to observe that the same rhythm is used as in No. 21's similar movement. Haydn's sense of tone colour is always aroused when writing for his favourite "bent horns" ("anglais" means actually that rather than its old but inaccurate translation "English"), and we note the delightful and comic effect they produce at the end of exposition and recapitulation. It is typical of Haydn, too, that he should never repeat this fabulous innovation of introducing *cors anglais* into a symphony, though we find him using these nostalgic instruments in chamber music and especially in vocal music (*Stabat Mater* and in several operas, notably *Le pescatrici*) but *always* in the key of E flat major. If any proof were needed that instruments are often associated with keys in the minds of Viennese classical composers, here is an incontrovertible bit of evidence. Note, finally, that this *cor anglais* passage is once again in the same rhythmic pattern as the beginning and as Symphony No. 21's *Presto*.

In No. 22, however, Haydn decides on a different pattern to end the work. The sturdy *Menuetto* is comparable, but whereas in No. 21 the Trio was a quiet A minor section for strings alone, in No. 22's Trio we switch to the *divertimento* pattern with its use of solo wind instruments; instead of worrying about the necessary (or if you will, inbuilt) psychological *decrescendo* inherent in the church-sonata symphony; Haydn makes a virtue of it by lightening the texture still more. This introduction of the *divertimento* technique will become more prominent still in the fabulous *Hornsignal* Symphony composed a year later. In the Finale of No. 22, we have another deliberate attempt to make a virtue out of lightness; in this case by having recourse to the hunt. Nowadays, it is hard for us to imagine the profound effect that *la chasse* had on the Austrian aristocracy of the period (and not only the Austrian, of course). "The hunt", writes Horace Fitzpatrick in his brilliant book *The Horn & Horn-Playing and the Austro-Bohemian tradition 1680-1830* (London 1970, p.20) "stood for all that was desirable in worldly virtue, representing a new embodiment of the old *ritterlich-höfisch* (chivalrous-courtly) ideals which were at the centre of aristocratic thought. As the ceremonial and signal instrument of the hunt, the horn in turn became a symbol for these values. To a nobleman of the time the sound of the horn had the power to excite deep feeling, for it called forth those ideals and aspirations which lay at the very heart of the *adeliches Landleben*." And "courtly country life", if we may coin a translation, is the essence of this Finale with its six-eight metre and its horn calls (also given thereafter to the English horns). It calls forth the rolling hills of the Austro-Hungarian-Bohemian countryside (Hungary, let us add, was not all flat. . .), the galloping horses, the brilliantly attired ladies and gentlemen on them, and of course the pealing *cors de chasse*, the virtues of which Haydn so well understood.

A second version of this symphony, printed by Venier in Paris, has also been recorded and will be presented on a separate record together with several other alternate versions of other works by Haydn.

Symphony No. 23 in G. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns, strings, to which have been added a bassoon and harpsichord as part of the *continuo*. No. 23's opening is typical of its period: terse, tense, unrelaxed, and with hardly any *piano* sections at all (and these only as "echo" effects or to accompany the oboes, as in bars 13f.). The tension in the development section is greatly increased by using a sequential imitation between first and second violins; contrapuntal effects are gradually beginning to become an integral part of Haydn's technique. A quiet *Andante* in which the wind instruments are dropped leads to a *Menuet* laid out as a canon between the upper and lower strings, with the horns filling in the harmonies. This G major

Menuet impressed Haydn's contemporaries and was frequently copied; we find such a minuet movement - also in G major - in Michael Haydn's Symphony which he took from his incidental music to *Die Hochzeit auf der Alm* of 1768, and in Mozart's Symphony K.110 (75b) of 1771, also in G major. Haydn's Trio is also canonic.

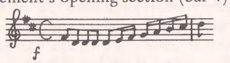
The Finale is a very quick movement *(Presto assai)* in a gigue-like six-eight. It races along with many sudden alternations of *forte* and *piano* and the whirlwind impetus carries it to the very end, where the perpetuum mobile stutters, falters, decreases to *pp* and, after three soft chords and a full bar's rest, comes to a witty *pizzicato* close. From our vantage point, knowing as we do all the hundred odd Haydn symphonies, this humorous, racy type of movement is the one which will eventually - though with a different form - dominate Haydn's thought: not the more serious kind of Finale patterned after the sonata allegro which opens the symphony. (We shall find a fine example of this kind of ending in No. 24). Thus No. 23's Finale, though in the ternary form (a kind of exposition, middle section and recapitulation) that Haydn favours in the 1760s, is in the spirit of the composer's later closing movements.

Symphony No.24 in D. Scoring: flute (only in the slow movement and Trio), 2 oboes, 2 horns and strings, to which have been added a bassoon and harpsichord as part of the *continuo*. The first movement of this work pushes to its outside limit the nervous, exuberant and exhilarating kind of allegro which fills Haydn's music of the 1760s. Of an almost appaling vitality, this music seems to create a new language: what shall we say of that figure at bar 23 which comes *four* times in succession? Or the development section, with those furious semiquavers in the upper strings (the beginning of each bar marked *ff*) and the relentless repeated quavers in the lower strings? It is controlled lunacy and is, naturally, a mannerist stroke that Haydn never repeated. The recapitulation, to cool off the temperature, is *piano* and in the tonic minor. But as a *tour-de-force* this movement is unique and its terrifying intensity did not go unlost on his astute contemporaries.

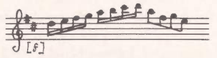
We have noted in the Finale of No. 22 a *divertimento*-like influence; here in the slow movement of No. 24 we have a whole section out of a flute concerto. This is not a completely isolated phenomenon, as witness the slow movement of No. 13 (solo violoncello) and that of No. 26 (solo violin and solo violoncello), not to speak of the *concerto-grosso* symphonies Nos. 6-8. There is even a cadenza and a miniature closing *ritornello*; the movement gives us a taste of what Haydn's lost flute concerto would have sounded like (the "Haydn" flute concerto which is played nowadays is a spurious work by Leopold Hofmann). The *Menuet* is even more thoroughly Austrian than its predecessors, with all sorts of

View of Pressburg. Haydn's ensemble played here in 1767 in the presence of the Imperial Family. Engraving by P.Westermeyer. Budapest National Museum.

dynamic tricks (the *ff* in horns at the end, like a church bell sounding through the Bruegelian dancing). The Trio is almost a *Ländler* with solo flute again (which had been silent in the minuet) and solo horns. The Finale, in sonata form, is one of Haydn's many experiments as to the character of the concluding movement in the symphony. Here, he uses the language of the opening allegro and also a four-four metre, but the finale character is achieved by other means, *e.g.* the *pp* opening with its unsettling second violin part in repeated semiquavers for nine bars, introducing a change (c sharp) only in the second half of bar 10. Haydn is now also concerned with holding his symphonies together by means of motivic similarities. Here we note that the passage of the first movement's opening section (bar 4)



becomes that furious repeated phrase referred to above



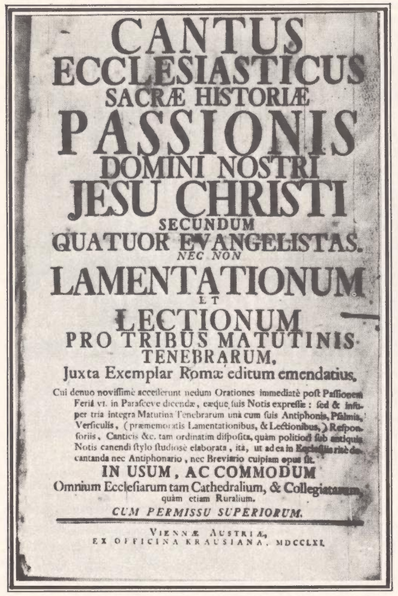
and, in turn, (bar 11)

of the Finale, Haydn was not a composer to copy himself, to lift large movements out of one work and use them in others in the Handelian tradition; but in this Finale we wrote a kind of farewell music which significantly turns up in the same key, and as real "farewell" music, in the last act of *Le pescatrici*, Haydn's delightful comic opera (Carlo Goldoni) written in 1769 and performed at Eszterháza the next year: the orchestration is even the same, too, the darting strings in semiquavers and the sustained oboes:

The bass line is the same, too: repeated quavers on the note A. "Andiamo, partiamo", says Mastricco in the opera, "di cintia allo splendor"[2] So there *is* something "finale"-ish about this symphonic movement, even though it is in first-movement form: a Haydnesque tautology of which we shall find hundreds throughout his music.

Symphony No, 25 in C. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns, strings to which have been added a bassoon and harpsichord *continuo*. Haydn, at this period of his career, used the slow introduction sparingly, preferring whole opening slow movements in the *sonata da chiesa* tradition. Here we have a rather extended *Adagio* introduction, opening *pp* and almost as if we were to have a church sonata work; but no, it turns out to stay close to the tonic and ends in a long pedal point on V. The following *Allegro molto* is of that tight rhythmic structure that we have come to know so well. There is an almost

2) Interested readers may examine the passage in the recent publication of the opera by the Haydn-Mozart Presse (Universal Edition), 1971, p.319


CANTUS
ECCLESIASTICUS
SACRÆ HISTORIÆ
PASSIONIS
DOMINI NOSTRI
JESU CHRISTI
SECUNDUM
QUATUOR EVANGELISTAS.
NEC NON
LAMENTATIONUM
ET
LECTIONUM
PRO TRIBUS MATUTINIS
TENEBRARUM,
Juxta Exemplar Romæ editum emendatius,
Cui denuo noviſſimè acceſſerunt nedum Orationes immediatè poſt Paſſionem Feriâ vi. in Paraſceve dicendæ, eæque ſuis Notis expreſſæ: ſed & Inſuper tria integra Matutina Tenebrarum una cum ſuis Antiphonis, Pſalmis, Verſiculis, (præmemoratis Lamentationibus, & Lectionibus,) Reſponſoriis, Canticis &c. tam ordinatim diſpoſita, quam politiori ſub antiquis Notis canendi ſtylo ſtudioſè elaborata, ità, ut ad ea in Eccleſiis rité decantanda nec Antiphonario, nec Breviario cuipiam opus ſit.
IN USUM, AC COMMODUM
Omnium Eccleſiarum tam Cathedralium, & Collegiatarum, quàm etiam Ruralium.
CUM PERMISSU SUPERIORUM.
VIENNÆ AUSTRIÆ,
EX OFFICINA KRAUSIANA. MDCCLXI.

Title Page of a Viennese edition of the Passion Music (1761) as used by Haydn in Symphony No. 26, first movement.The music itself dates from the middle ages.

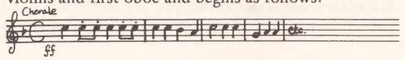
IN DOMINICA
PALMARUM.
E. Aſſi o Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti ſecundũ Matthæ um.
In illo tempo re: dixit Jeſus diſcipu lis ſu is. C.Sci tis,qui a
poſt biduum Paſcha fi et: & fi li us hominis tradetur ut crucifigatur.
E. Tunc congrega ti ſunt principes ſacerdotum, & ſe ni ores popu li,
in atri um principis ſacerdotum qui dicebatur Ca iphas: & conci li um
fe cerunt, ut Jeſum do lo tenerent & occi derent. Dicebant au tem.
T. Non in di e feſto, ne forte tumultus fi e ret in po pu lo.
E. Cùm autem eſſet Je ſus in Betha ni a, in domo Simonis lepro ſi, ac-
ceſſit ad eum mu li er, habens a labaſtrum unguenti pre ti o ſi: & effu-
A
dit

First page of the Passion Music from the 1761 edition (From the author's collection, Buggiano Castello)

perfect example of a *fausse reprise* in the middle section: a "false recapitulation" which happens here shortly after the double bar (at bar 94). Not until we move to F major and then to the dominant of A minor do we realize that we are to experience the typical *fausse reprise*. The real recapitulation occurs at bar 133.

Great is our surprise to hear a *Menuet* as second movement. Is this to be one of the few times in Haydn's symphonies when the positions of the minuet and slow movement are reversed (Symphonies "B", 32, 44)? The Trio is again like a *divertimento*, with solo parts throughout for the oboes and horns. By the time the third movement (*Presto*) is under way, we realize to our astonishment that Haydn has simply done away with the slow movement altogether. The Finale turns out to be a terse two-four movement in abbreviated sonata form, the development and recapitulation being skilfully merged and the main theme being introduced with itself in canon between the top and bottom lines, a small motif from the exposition( )serving as a sort of counter-subject. The whole symphony, in its extreme brevity and telescoped form (no slow movement, Finale with merged development and reprise), suggests the theatre; like a similar piece in C major of 1762, Symphony No. 9, we wonder if No. 25 was also not originally the Overture to one of Haydn's short operas (*commedie*) given in 1762 of which, except for fragments of *La Marchesa Nespola*, only the names have survived; or perhaps No. 25 opened one of the Esterházy Birthday Cantatas of the early 1760s.

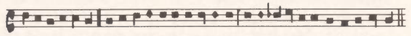
Symphony No. 26 in D minor ("Lamentatione"). Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns, strings, to which have been added a bassoon and harpsichord as part of the *continuo*. The first movement of the powerful work uses an old Passion play of mediaeval times. To introduce it, the music begins with a series of jagged syncopations which end in the tonic minor. The Passion melody itself is concealed in the second violins and first oboe and begins as follows:



Here we have the whole drama of Christ's Passion enacted before us by the various participants. We include here the title page of the Passion music, one of many editions which Haydn can have used (ours is dated Vienna 1761), and also the first page of music, from which readers may study the original from which Haydn took this incredibly bold idea. The participants are abbreviated as E (Evangelist), X (Christ) and T (*Turbae,* or *Vox populi*); the "T" are marked "Jud:" (*Juden* =Jews*) in some MSS., e.g.* in the Herzogenburg copy of this Symphony (the first page of the *Violino 2 do* part is reproduced as the frontispiece of Vol. II, Symphonies 13-27, of the Philharmonic Critical Edition of the Complete Symphonies).

Haydn even continues the drama in the music, for the strings rush up the B flat major scale (bar 37), obviously signifying the cries of "Crucify Him, crucify Him! " In the recapitulation, the horn also takes part in the proceedings, now that the music has turned from D minor to D major.

The wildness of the first movement changes in the ensuing *Adagio*. Haydn uses as his principal subject one of the "alphabet Lamentations" found in the same print containing the four Passions, an old Gregorian chant which attracted Haydn throughout his life:


A (——) leph. In- cipit lamentatio Jeremiae Prophetae

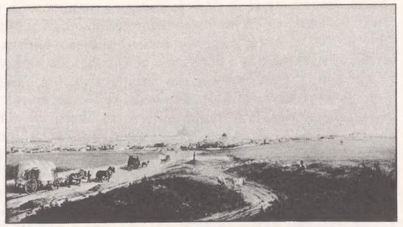
We find the "Incipit Lamentatio" in an early wind band *Divertimento* in F (The Trio), also in the Trio of the "Farewell" Symphony and the Trio of Symphony No. 80. The second movement of No. 26 is treated formally in much the same way as the chorale prelude of No. 22's opening movement - the chorale enters at various fixed points. The woodwind and horns are used very sparingly so that when they enter with the final statement of the chorale, it gives the same kind of halo to the music as the strings in Christ's recitatives in the Bach *Passion according to St.Matthew*.

The Symphony ends with a curious *Menuet* which combines Viennese charm with a ferocious *stretto* imitation on the main subject strongly looking forward to a similar *stretto* in Mozart's great *Adagio & Fugue* K. 546 (426).

Symphony No. 27 in G. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns, strings, to which have been added a bassoon and harpsichord as part of the *continuo*. This Haydn Symphony had the distinction of being erroneously discovered in 1946. At Freck Castle near what used to be Hermannstadt in the Province of Transylvania (now Sibiu in Roumania), they discovered this work in the musical library of Baron Brukenthal. They quite rightly thought that they had a genuine Haydn symphony in front of them, and on 29 January 1950 the newly discovered work was played at Bucharest by the Philharmonic State Orchestra and subsequently recorded as the *Hermannstädter Symphonie*. It was some years before the West could acquire the *incipit* of the work, and not until 1960 that the writer of these notes could finally examine the source; it is a copy of No. 27 dated 1786.

A sturdy and heavily symphonic first movement opens this Lukavec work, whose repeated semiquavers in the second violins and marching bass quavers are typical of the Haydn of this period. The solid inner parts and the "rocketing" theme of the violin show that Haydn was not unacquainted with the Mannheim school, though he abhored their effects and at this period one of the very few big "Mannheim" *crescendi* is found at the beginning of Symphony No. 1 and hardly again; "rocket" in Mannheim language was a theme that moves upwards - in this case a very slow - moving *force de frappe*. . . The second movement, without the wind parts, is a *siciliano* in lilting six-eight motion, as Italian an *Andante* as was ever composed in Naples or Palermo: extraordinary how Haydn, whose knowledge of Italy was exclusively at second hand (*e.g. via* his mistress, Luigia Polzelli), could so magically recapture the blue skies and dancing waters that he would never see; he provides us with several such Italian serenades (though his most famous one, from the string Quartet Op. 3, turns out to be, like the whole set, by a German monk named Roman Hofstetter), not least in the ravishing Concerti for the King of Naples (1786). The terse Finale (*Presto*) reminds us once again that even at this early stage of his career - this work cannot be later than mid-1761 - Haydn's sense of timing is impeccable. A heavily symphonic first movement leads to an Italian *siciliano* as light as a feather, and the whole work is concluded by a swift and delicate last movement in three-eight. A typical work in which the symphonic element decreases as the work continues but whose melodic highpoint is the slow movement; that is why there are hardly any tunes at all in the flanking movements (but rather subjects). Like Leonardo, Haydn might have praised *Deo natematico. . .*

Symphony No.28 in A. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns, strings, to which have been added a bassoon and harpsichord as part of the *continuo*. The main subject is laid out in such a way that until bar six the listener without a score cannot tell that the music is not in six-eight time; in fact it is in three-four and in bar six, Haydn writes an unequivocal three-four. Apart from this experiment, the whole *Allegro di molto* is built upon this first subject or upon derivatives of it (melodic and rhythmic; it is one of the most intellectual of all these opening movements). Possibly Haydn regarded it as the prelude to the extraordinary slow movement, which sounds as if it had programmatic connotations. It is another "dialogue"


View of Vienna, 1817 by Jacob Alt.

similar to the opening of No. 22, but here only for strings (the violins muted). The conversation is between the tutti strings, marked *pp*, and the violins, who have a spiky little answer, marked *staccato* and with tall staccato dots as well. And the passage that repeats itself like a musical clock (bars 27-29) sounds like music to some play; it could have been so, for Prince Esterházy soon began to invite groups of strolling players to Eisenstadt and later to Eszterháza, where they took up residence for many months at a time. In 1765, the year which is written on the autograph of this Symphony, there did actually arrive at Eisenstadt the *Schulz Comique Compagnie* who stayed from 1 April to the end of May 1765 and received a weekly salary of 100 Gulden and a bonus of 200 Gulden (*i.e.* double the normal salary, a very handsome gesture by Prince Nicolaus). Their repertoires consisted mostly of improvised plays and "buffooneries", *i.e.* pieces in the great Austrian *Hanswurst* tradition. We wonder if this witty and totally unconventional *Poco Adagio* might not refer to some action in a Hanswurst play as acted by Madame Schulz and her company on the stage at Eisenstadt Castle that year.

Perhaps that is also the explanation for the even more unconventional *Menuet* which is marked *Allegro molto* and uses the device of switching from open to fingered string such as would be immortalized in the "frog" movement of Opus 50, No. 6, the great Quartet in D from the set Haydn dedicated to the King of Prussia. The Trio is like a lost Balkan tune sounding far across the *puszta*; it is Gypsy music and has in it the rich aroma of eastern Europe. The Germans loathed it. J.A.Hiller, in a weekly Leipzig periodical called *Wöchentliche Nachrichten und Anmerkungen, die Musik betreffend , auf das Jahr 1770,* wrote:

(This) Symphony has been put into a bearable form not long ago by one of our (Leipzig) composers and the excrescences (Auswüchse) removed; the last movement in six-eight time has been left out of the print (from Paris; *vide supra*) altogether; it would have been better to have omitted the silly trio[3] together with the minuet!

There is some evidence that the Finale was added later; in the autograph (Prussian State Library, Berlin), it is missing, as it is in a very early (1766) copy of the work from Kremsier (Kroměříž) Castle, Czechoslovakia. If this be true, it increases the suspicion that the work was originally a three-movement overture to a play. The Finale is a spirited gigue-like *Presto assai* which brings down to earth the fancies of the middle movements and especially the Minuet.

Symphony No. 29 in E. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns, strings, to which have been added a bassoon and harpsichord as part of the *continuo*. E major is always a key of particular radiance in Haydn, whether in one of these early symphonies or as the beginning to Part III of *The Creation*. Here in the opening *Allegro di molto* we have a typically sophisticated case of a singing allegro, a great speciality of the Viennese chamber symphony. Haydn has divided up the melody between strings and oboes, which increases the chamber quality of the music. We are worlds away from the big symphonic effects of Mannheim or indeed J.C.Bach of the Italian period. Here is a new kind of opening movement which makes an enlarged piece of chamber music out of the symphony; even the *forte* passages are transparently scored. In the development section there is a beautiful "Baroque" sequence based on the main subject. It is this kind of movement in which J.B.Vanhal would specialize. (Altogether Vanhal was Haydn's best follower and it is a tragedy that the Bohemian went mad for a long period after showing such immense promise in the 1770s.)

The second movement divides up the melody just as the first subject of the opening movement had been given two oboes and strings; but here Haydn separates the melody between first and second violins almost phrase by phrase. The same Hiller thoroughly disapproved of this effect too, he called it "auf eine lächerliche Art" (in a ridiculous fashion). An interesting and very characteristic passage is the long series of syncopations at the end of both main sections and in the middle as well. The bass line "walks" along with the main rhythm while the violins are a quaver "off". It is an effect that Haydn much relished in the 1760s and 1770s, and very often he marks the bass line with tall staccato strokes to show that it must stay on the beat and accent the basic rhythm.

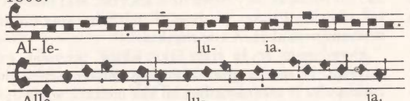
Here again it is the Trio which provides the surprise. It comes after a singing minuet where the basic pulse is crotchets but all the melodic work uses many quavers (thus it is somewhat slower than, say that of No. 21). It hardly prepares us for the sombre and secretive beauty of the strongly Balkan Trio (note the abrupt modulation from the tonic to the dominant *minor*). The weird atmosphere of this little Trio is enhanced by the dark-hued pedal point in the

3) Haydn also used the tune of the Trio in a Duet for 2 barytons and bass, where it comes in D minor. *H.C.R.L.*

horns and the total absence of any melody whatever.

We have seen that the opening of this Symphony was almost like a piece of chamber music, a "singing allegro" in the Viennese chamber symphonic tradition. The Finale of No. 29 is the highpoint of the work, and thus Haydn has cleverly managed to reverse completely the normal *decrescendo* pattern of the average symphony. Here is Haydn at his most aggressive and brilliant; there is only one small episode in *piano* (beginning of the middle section, where the viola is marked *poco forte* because it must take over the function of the bass line); otherwise the entire movement is *forte* and the bass line in crotchets hammers away throughout most of the movement. It is a stupendous example of the nervous energy which begins more and more to consume these quick movements. The *forte* unison opening is an effect that Haydn later used frequently in his first movements of the period c.1771-4 (see Symphonies 36-48 and 49-56 of this present series for a number of such openings, *e.g.* Nos. 44, 46, 51, 52, 56). We may now observe in retrospect how carefully the composer has worked out the preceding movements so that this Finale will stand out in the listener's mind as the climax of the Symphony.

Symphony No. 30 in C ("Alleluja"). Scoring: 1 flute (in second and third movements), 2 oboes, 2 horns, strings, to which have been added a bassoon and harpsichord as part of the *continuo*. This is another work in which the first movement is based on an old Gregorian chant, in this case on the "Alleluja" melody for Easter. Students of Gregorian chant know that many of the melodies were corrupted; they have been restored by painstaking scholarship to the original versions which may be consulted in the great *Liber Usualis*[4] In the eighteenth-century these chants were often printed in their corrupted versions, and it was the corrupted version of this "Alleluja" which was known to Austrian Catholics of Haydn's period. The opening note has been changed characteristically from *la* to *sol*, thus making a tonal concept, while pauses have been added, rendering the old, asymmetrical chant symmetrical: a) is the version of *Liber Usualis*, while b) is from the Brixen *Compendiosa* of 1806:



Mozart also used the "corrupt" version of this melody for his delightful Canon on the "Alleluja" melody, K.553 (September 1788, when he hardly had any reason to raise his voice in thanks).

As in all these uses of Gregorian chants, Haydn conceals the melody in the second violin and wind parts, overlaying it in typical Baroque manner with a heavily ornamented line in the first violins. But in No. 30, it will be noted that the second subject, with its trills, is nothing but a derivative of the melody and so is the long sequence in the development section based on the first four notes of the chant. In the recapitulation, the theme is brought out of its obscurity and given to the solo wind band, who thunder it out *forte*. This is perhaps the place to mention that there was a set of lost trumpet and timpani parts to this work which Haydn may have added later: they are mentioned in the Kees Catalogue (many of the MSS. exist, but alas this one does not; Kees was a wealthy dilettante who kept a large orchestra in Vienna and was a friend of Haydn's) and also in the Breitkopf Catalogue of 1773; probably they could be fairly easily reconstructed, but we have preferred to record the original version as we have it from Haydn's autograph MS. of 1765.

The slow movement with an elaborate solo flute part, marks the beginning of a new type which we will encounter frequently. Its main features are the use of a dotted upbeat and the pert, almost prim nature of the melodic line; also a predilection for two-four metre and two-part harmony (or at most very transparent harmonic support). There are several examples in the years following 1765, especially in Haydn's operas, but also in the famous "schoolmaster" *Adagio* from Symphony No. 55 (1774).

The third movement combines the minuet with a rondo finale and is marked "Tempo di Menuetto, più tosto Allegretto" (which is in itself an interesting commentary on the tempo of the usual minuet). The form is not quite that of a classical rondo, for only one repeat of the "A" section is missing.

A (subdivided a-b-a) - B (solo flute and strings in F, also a-b-a) - C (A minor, with oboes and without flute or horns) - A with Coda.

The flute appears only in the "B" section; altogether the orchestration of this quietly confident Finale is particularly felicitous throughout; the wind instruments have now become completely integrated into the whole scheme, and although Haydn will occasionally leave them out of slow movements (as in Nos. 31 and 35, *vide infra*) it is then for some particular reason, *e.g.* to save the horns. We see, for example, that although there are a flute and two oboes in the slow movement of No. 30, there are no horns; this is because of the prominent part assigned to them both in the first and third movements. Haydn, being *inter alia* a brassplayer himself, was always careful not to overtax his horn and trumpet players.

This must have been a favourite piece, at least the "Alleluja" section, with Prince Esterházy; for we find it as a baryton trio (No. 64 in the list of *HV*) transposed into D major. The baryton trios often

4) *Liber Usualis Missae et Officii,* Ex Editione Vaticana Adamussim Excerpto Parisiis, Tornaci, Romae (1936).

A baryton by Daniel Achatius Stadlman, Vienna 1732. It is possible that this was Haydn's baryton.Lent by the Bibliothek der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna. It is in the Kunsthistorical Museum, Vienna.

incorporated Nicolaus's favourite music, *e.g.* an opera aria ("Che farò" from Gluck's *Orfeo*) or an admired symphony or *divertimento* for wind band.

Symphony No. 31 in D ("Hornsignal"). Scoring: flute, 2 oboes, 1 bassoon, 4 horns, strings, solo violin, solo violoncello, solo double bass (and harpsichord *continuo*). There are two such hunting works of this period, both containing the unusual four horns as well as the flute and solo strings: Nos. 31 and 72. It is now believed that No. 72, of which no early dated source exists, was the first of the two and was possibly composed in 1763, to celebrate the engagement of two new horn players (making a total of four). At the beginning of his tenure as *Vice-Capellmeister* Haydn had only two horns at his disposal; in the year 1763, two new horn players were engaged: Franz Reiner and Carl Franz, the latter becoming a famous virtuoso on the baryton. In that year we have one dated Symphony with four horns, No. 13. In 1765, the horn players at Eisenstadt were different. Franz Reiner had only stayed the year 1763, and in 1765 Johann Knoblauch (who had been engaged in 1762) died; but in 1765 two new horn players were engaged, Johann May and Franz

Title page and Haydn's symphony listed in the 1769 catalogue of the Leipzig publisher, Breitkopf. Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Bibliothek der Vienna. Photo from the collection of H.C.Robbins Landon, Buggiano/Vienna.

Stamitz. We suggest that Symphony No. 31 was composed to celebrate their arrival.

The "hornsignal" that opens the work is in two sections, one a fanfare of the usual type but the other a hunting signal of very old heritage which announced a ceremonial battue. With its octave skip and the dotted pattern on which it concludes, it was the characteristic hunting signal for the *Herrenjagd*, and Haydn also used it in another work, the recently discovered *Cassatio* for four horns and strings from the Clam-Gallas Archives in Prague[5].

Two technical points emerge from a study of the four horn parts. One is that the two groups (horns I-II and horns III-IV) must have been placed sufficiently far apart from each other for Haydn's constant "echo" effects to make not only a sonic but also a visual impression; perhaps the pair faced each other across the other members of the orchestra. The second point is the modern way in which Haydn writes *viz* $\overset{\text{I}}{\text{III}}\ \overset{\text{II}}{\text{IV}}$; that is, the high horns are I and III, the 'secundarius" parts II and IV, which means that chords are often spaced I. III. II. IV. or even I. III. IV. II.

The striking signals that open the movement do not appear at the beginning of the recapitulation, which starts in D *minor* and *piano*, and returns to the opening material with the *second* part of the hornsignal (the one with the octave jump); while the fanfares are used to end the movement. It is altogether fascinating to observe with what taste and formal judgement Haydn has incorporated the horns and their battue signals into this movement, apart from using the solo flute in a concerto-like way.

In the first movement, all four horns were pitched in D; in the *Adagio* they are separated into two pairs, one in D and one in G, which means that they can play in the tonic (G) as well as the dominant (D). The other wind instruments are silent, but in this beautiful concerto movement, we are treated not only to a virtuoso treatment of the horns (also the second, which shows off unabashedly at the beginning of the second part) but also to an intricate part for solo violin and an equally taxing rôle for the violoncello.

5) Edited by the writer of these notes, the *Cassatio* is published as "Dieto musicale" No. 66 by Doblinger Verlag, Vienna.

The third movement is one of those irresistible minuets of which Haydn's music is full, bursting with energy and with a quality which can only be described as dance-like (it is as bad as that dreadful word "painterly" but it seems that neither can be avoided). It carries the listener with it as surely as any waltz by Johann Strauss or a Csárdás by Gypsy fiddlers. In the Trio the oboes are used in delightful consort with the horns. This movement might be used as a textbook exercise on the fine art of orchestration. We would draw attention to two features; (1) how sparingly Haydn uses the violins here, having them enter three times with great effect after they have paused when the oboes and horns play together; (2) how Haydn uses the flute only to double the first horn and only in two "entries", at the end of each section. It is all immaculately written and with that infallible sense of economy: once when as an old gentleman, Haydn was examining the first allegro of a symphony by a pupil, he found a long section therein during which the wind instruments paused. He said something pleasant to the pupil and then added, half jokingly: "Pauses are the most difficult of all to write: you were quite right to remember what a great effect is made by a longer stretch of *piano*" (We have this story from the pen of an eyewitness, the Swedish diplomat Fredrik Samuel Silverstolpe.)

The Finale is a set of slow (*Moderato molto*) variations, with the following scheme: the theme (strings in two-part harmony). Var. 1: solo oboes, horns III-IV, strings. Var. 2: solo violoncello, strings. Var. 3: solo flute, strings. Var. 4: four horns *soli* (a fantastically difficult section: when Toscanini conducted this Symphony with the N.B.C.Symphony, he had to omit this section; the N.B.C. horns simply could not play it; it is an interesting comment how times have changed in the last generation, for nowadays one could find several dozen horn players in New York who could negotiate this part with complete ease); the strings are marked *pianissimo*. Var. 5: solo violin, strings. Var. 6: *tutti* but softly. Var. 7: *violone* (double bass) solo, strings; this variation provides us with a sad reminder that Haydn wrote a double bass concerto soon after he went to Eisenstadt; alas, it seems to be irretrievably lost.

The *Hornsignal* Symphony contains one special surprise for the listener. Having gone trough seven variations, the music now modulates from the tonic minor to Section V, at which point the tempo jumps to *Presto*. This little epilogue, similar to that of No. 72, has nothing to do with any of the foregoing material and introduces a new theme which sounds like the *Kehraus* (go-home) of a contradance series. We are therefore quite unprepared for the last seven bars: a literal repetition of the horn call that began and ended the first movement. No device could have better cemented the loose construction of the Finale to the rest of the work.

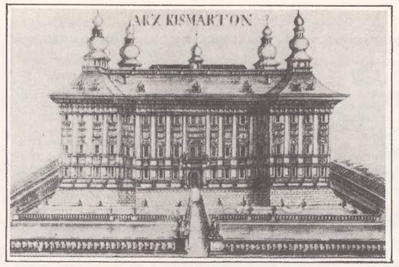
Space prohibits an exposition of the many delights to be found in No. 31; suffice it to say that ingenuity and charm have seldom been better wedded by Haydn than in this light-hearted and gay music. The Symphony represents, in a way, the composer's farewell to youth; for in the next decades he was never quite able to recapture the deep-seated joy of this period and the Symphony that so graciously ends it.

Symphony No. 32 in C. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns in C (probably *alto*), 2 trumpets (*clarini*) in C, timpani, strings, to which have been added a bassoon and harpsichord as part of the *continuo*. A brisk, festive Symphony for Lukavec Castle, the *Allegro molto* of which shows its period by having the second subject in the dominant *minor* as in Symphony No. 1. The enormous energy is already in full abundance, also the fastidious orchestration: notice the single high c3 in trumpet which stabs through the texture at bar 154. Haydn's impeccable sense of form is also in high evidence: having used the "theme song" of the second subject for the last part of the development section (bars 113ff.), Haydn simply omits it entirely in the recapitulation.

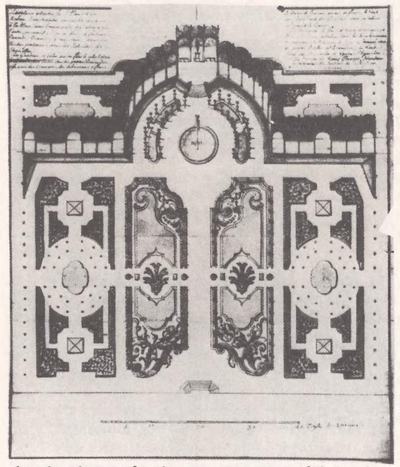
The *Minuet*, as it is entitled on the authentic Budapest source from the library of Lieut.-Col. von Fürnberg, comes second and has a French dotted pattern that gives it a massive sound. The Trio is in the tonic minor; it is a rather restrained and sober section for strings only, the scoring also of the ensuing slow movement (*Adagio ma non troppo*). Haydn's Baroque heritage is strongly felt in this *Adagio*, which is firmly rooted in the Italo-Austrian tradition of the 1730s and 1740s. In the Finale we again note that the second subject is in the minor; although in a shortened sonata form, this *Presto* preserves its "finale" character by the lightness of its metre (three-eight) and its overall brevity.

Symphony No. 33 in C. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns in C (probably *alto*), 2 trumpets (*clarini*) in C, timpani, strings, to which have been added a bassoon and harpsichord as part of the *continuo*. This is perhaps the finest of the early festive works in C with trumpets and drums. It is a Lukavec piece and the principal manuscript is from the oft-mentioned Fürnberg Collection in Budapest. The gay opening *Vivace* has a second subject of much longer proportions and importance than usual; like a similar passage in the Finale of No. 29 (*vide supra*), this subject when first announced is for the upper three string sections (bass pauses), the viola being marked *mezzo forte* to underline its new function as *fondamento*. There is another classic *fausse reprise* in the development.

The slow movement is an *Andante* in C minor, another very Baroque movement which might come from a Wagenseil symphony or an Italian master of *c.* 1750. Note the two-part writing that often occurs (*e.g.* bars 27ff., 59ff., 67ff., 93ff.); here the harpsichord *continuo* is essential.



At the time when Joseph Haydn entered his employment, Eisenstadt (Kismarton) was the permanent residence of Prince Esterházy. The Palace in Eisenstadt in the form which the poet and composer Palatine Paul Esterházy (1635-1713) gave it through commissioning its rebuilding by the Italian architect Carlone after 1660. Engraving, Budapest National Museum.



Plan dated 1760 for the reconstruction of the park at Eisenstadt in the spirit of French gardens. Budapest, State Archives.

The *Minuet* (Fürnberg MS.) reminds us, in a delightful wash of colour provided by the trumpets and drums *piano* at bars 13-15, that fifteen years ago these attractive *clarini* and *tympano* parts were not yet discovered. Since then, we have found them not only in the authentic Fürnberg MS., but also in sources at Prague, Frankfurt-am-Main and (incomplete) in a source in the Vienna Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde. In the Trio, marked *pp* and for strings only, we note the cat-like syncopations of the violins over the on-the-beat security of the lower strings.

The Finale is on a much larger scale, and musically much more complex, than the similar movement in No. 32. This should warn us against dating Haydn symphonies by their stylistic content alone. Previous to the discovery of the Fürnberg Collection, we had all imagined this to be a work composed several years later than the earliest works, perhaps *c.* 1763-5. When the Budapest MS. emerged, it was clear that we were dealing with a Lukavec work (and of course there are other indices to support this dating, such as the spelling of "Minuet", which always denotes the earliest period). Thus we see that Haydn did not develop, as the Victorians imagined he did (in the light of their concept of "progress"), in a steady, unwavering line, but rather in fits and starts. No. 33 is certainly a much more sophisticated work than No. 32, but the two cannot be more than a year or two apart; both are pre-May 1761.

Symphony No. 34 in D minor. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns, strings, to which have been added a bassoon and harpsichord as part of the *continuo*. This is possibly Haydn's first Symphony in the minor key, and for it he uses the *sonata da chiesa* form once again. This opening *Adagio* suddenly introduces a new emotion into Haydn's music; the language of tragedy. His symphonies had encompassed a wide range of emotions hitherto, but not this lonely voice that we find, totally unexpectedly, in this extraordinary and expressive movement. The next movement is a fiery *Allegro* in D major whose passionate language is symbolized by the wide skips in the opening melodic material. We have mentioned above that the church sonata form includes a built-in psychological *decrescendo* in it; No. 34 is certainly of this type. The first two movements are the main sections (incidentally the *sonata da chiesa* form was still so new that in many sources the order was reversed) and the last two - also in the tonic major - are designed to settle the emotion. This tapering-off was, incidentally, a typical feature of the Baroque suite: famous examples are Bach's orchestral Overtures or Suites, of which the opening movements are by far the weightiest and musically the most substantial. Another point may have suggested itself to Haydn, too: *anno* 1765 or 1766, symphonies in minor keys were as good as unknown in Eisenstadt Castle and Haydn may have been wary as to the effect it would make; so he used the form in which the powerful opening effect would most quickly taper off. The slow-moving *Menuet*, marked *Moderato* (as Haydn was to do in No. 100's equally slow-moving minuet), is matched by a leisurely Trio with a genuine waltz accompaniment in the strings, the effect of which is deliberately disturbed by the horns' syncopations; but it is a very Austrian movement and like all its kind will not have found favour with the stern north-German critics, used to the controlled hysteria of C.P.E. Bach and the sober tradition of his great but in those days almost forgotten father. Nor will they have approved of the racy *(Presto assai)* Finale, which sounds like a perpetuum mobile and is in easy-going three-part form ("B" being a minor section). If No. 34 as a whole does not rise to the sombre heights of *La Passione*, composed a few years later (1768), it is nevertheless a very impressive work, the harbinger of things to come, or as Hubert Parry would have said. The Great Precursor.

Symphony No. 35 in B flat. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns in B flat (*alto*), strings, to which have been added a bassoon and harpsichord as part of the *continuo*. The same alternation of light and shade deepens and enriches No. 35, which was completed - *Laus Deo* - on 1 December 1767. It reveals to us a Haydn momentarily captivated by the sunny, melodious sounds of Italy, but who at the same time cast a thoughtful eye at the rich orchestral effects of the Mannheim school. In the first movement, the luscious theme, which seemed to be so friendly in the exposition, suddenly develops a towering contrapuntal anger in the development, while the little figure , originally the basis of a transitional passage, becomes turbulently polyphonic. The whole development section becomes increasingly dark-hued and the keys tend more and more to be minor.

There is a rollicking horn figure which accompanies the first *forte* of the recapitulation; it was obviously in B flat *alto* because in some early printed sources it was simply removed as being too difficult (it goes up to sounding g2.). Actually, although we do not have very many of Haydn's symphonies in autograph (this is an exception), we do have good sources for almost all of them, so that Bowdlerized passages such as this one could be removed (or rather restored).

The *Andante*, without the wind instruments, is a gentle and warm piece in a light two-four metre with one passage which will remind Anglo-Saxon listeners of *Adeste fidelis* (bars 10ff.). There are some very original syncopations in this *Andante*, reminding us that syncopation is now becoming an integral part of Haydn's musical language - perhaps this, too, was a legacy of the Gypsies and Magyars.

The *Menuet* "Un poco allegretto" is characterized by a triplet upbeat, which gives a certain *insouciance* and light-heartness to the movement; the triplet motion is then continued and broadened in the Trio, alternating between first and second violins. The Finale has something of the swashbuckling adventurousness of the first movement, though without its darker overtones. It is a marvellous ending to one of Haydn's most interesting transitional works. A year later we shall be in the world of *La Passione* and *La Lamentatione* and Haydn's music will never quite be the same again.

H.C.Robbins Landon,
Buggiano Castello,
Christmas 1972.

Recorded at St Bonifatius Kirche, Marl.
Producer: James Mallinson
Engineer: Colin Moorfoot

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Philharmonia Hungarica conducted by Antal Dorati

Booklet Cover: Painting by Martin Meytens of the EMPRESS MARIA THERESA AND HER FAMILY on the terrace of the castle at Schönbrunn, c. 1755. Kunsthistorische Museum, Vienna.

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Haydn: The Symphonies (36-48)
The Philharmonia Hungarica conducted by Antal Dorati

SIDE ONE
SYMPHONY No. 36 in E flat major
1. Vivace (5:10)
2. Adagio (4:15)
3. Menuetto e trio (4:17)
4. Allegro (Presto) (4:10)

SIDE TWO
SYMPHONY No. 37 in C major
1. Presto (3:15)
2. Menuet e trio (3:27)
3. Andante (4:25)
4. Presto (2:24)

SYMPHONY No. 38 in C major "Echo"
5. Allegro di molto (3:48)
6. Andante molto (3:25)
7. Menuet e trio allegro (3:05)
8. FINALE; Allegro di molto (3:23)

SIDE THREE
SYMPHONY No. 39 in G minor
1. Allegro assai (4:40)
2. Andante (3:50)
3. Menuet e trio (3:00)
4. FINALE (3:48)

SIDE FOUR
SYMPHONY No. 40 in F major
1. Allegro (4:48)
2. Andante più tosto allegretto (4:35)
3. Menuet e trio (4:43)
4. FINALE; Fuga (2:52)

SIDE FIVE
SYMPHONY No. 41 in C major
1. Allegro con spirito (5:45)
2. Un poco andante (5:55)
3. Menuet e trio (3:40)
4. FINALE; Presto (2:40)

SIDE SIX
SYMPHONY No. 42 in D major
1. Moderato e maestoso (9:30)
2. Andantino e cantabile (9:50)
3. Menuet e trio - Allegretto (4:50)
4. FINALE; Scherzando e presto (3:47)

SIDE SEVEN
SYMPHONY No. 43 in E flat major "Merkur"
1. Allegro (6:50)
2. Adagio (8:40)
3. Menuetto e trio (4:05)
4. FINALE; Allegro (4:47)

SIDE EIGHT
SYMPHONY No. 44 in E minor "Trauer"
1. Allegro con brio (6:48)
2. Menuetto e trio - Allegretto canone in diapason (6:13)
3. Adagio (6:10)
4. FINALE; Presto (3:55)

SIDE NINE
SYMPHONY No. 45 in F sharp minor "Abschied"
1. Allegro assai (4:40)
2. Adagio (7:57)
3. Menuet e trio - Allegretto (4:30)
4. FINALE; Presto e adagio (8:45)

SIDE TEN
SYMPHONY No. 46 in B major
1. Vivace (6:05)
2. Poco Adagio (4:30)
3. Menuet e trio - Allegretto (3:40)
4. FINALE; Presto e scherzando (4:20)

SIDE ELEVEN
SYMPHONY No. 47 in G major
1. Allegro (5:43)
2. Un poco adagio, cantabile (7:45)
3. Menuet e trio al rovescio (2:38)
4. FINALE; Presto assai (4:43)

SIDE TWELVE
SYMPHONY No. 48 in C major "Maria Theresia"
1. Allegro (8:10)
2. Adagio (9:30)
3. Menuet e trio (5:30)
4. FINALE; Allegro (3:20)

Antal Dorati.

Antal Dorati

Antal Dorati was born in Budapest in 1906, and his parents, both musicians, recognised his talents and sent him at the age of fourteen to the Academy of Music in Budapest. His teachers were Zoltan Kodály, Béla Bartók and Leo Weiner. He graduated at eighteen as composer, pianist and conductor, and was the youngest person in the history of the Academy to receive a degree.

Soon after, he was appointed conductor of the Royal Opera House in Budapest, where he worked for four years. In 1928 he went to Dresden as the assistant of Fritz Busch. Between 1928 and 1933 he was principal conductor of the Opera House in Munster, at the same time appearing as guest conductor at several other Opera Houses in Germany, and with orchestras in many major musical centres.

In 1934 he joined the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo, and seven years later was appointed Musical Director of the Ballet Theatre. Meanwhile in 1937 he made his American debut as a symphonic conductor at an all-Beethoven concert with the National Symphony Orchestra of Washington D.C., and during 1939–40 made an extensive tour of Australia. Returning to the States, Dorati became Director of the New Opera Company in New York.

In 1945 he left the Ballet Theatre and was charged with the organisation of the Dallas Symphony Orchestra, and in 1949 he became Musical Director of the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra, and during his eleven years with them, he was responsible for numerous commissions, world premieres, and American premieres of important works.

From 1963 to 1966 Antal Dorati was Chief Conductor to the BBC Symphony Orchestra, and took the orchestra on a tour of Switzerland in October 1964, and the United States in the Spring of 1965. He has also made a return to opera, and conducts guest performances at Covent Garden, London, the Wiener Staatsoper, the Opera House, Rome, the Hamburg Opera and Maggio Musicale in Florence. He is now principal conductor of the Stockholm Philharmonic Orchestra and with him the orchestra made its first tour of the United States in 1968 with such success that a return tour was arranged for 1970. In October 1970, Antal Dorati was appointed chief conductor of the National Symphony Orchestra, Washington D.C., in addition to his commitments with the Stockholm orchestra.

When the Philharmonia Hungarica was formed in Vienna in 1957, from refugee musicians who had fled Hungary during the 1956 revolution, Antal Dorati was one of the orchestra's first conductors. He made several recordings with them during this period, so that the London project of recording the complete Haydn symphonies with Dorati and the Philharmonia Hungarica represents the renewal of a long-standing association.

Philharmonia Hungarica

Among the hundreds of thousands of refugees who left their home country during the Hungarian Revolution in the late Autumn of 1956 were many musicians, who set out for the free world with their instruments as their only possessions. It was yet another instance of the tragic tradition of the Hungarian history of culture, which, over two decades ago, Béla Bartók summed up in these poignant words: ". . . One must get away from here, no matter where to . . ."

From among these exiled musicians, who, almost without exception, came from the leading Hungarian Symphony Orchestras – as for example the Hungarian National Philharmonia, the Budapest Radio Orchestra and State Opera Orchestra – the Philharmonia Hungarica was formed in Vienna, in the Spring of 1957, thanks to the spontaneous and generous assistance of several philanthropic organizations, mainly the Congress for the Freedom of Culture, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the International Rescue Committee and the Swiss Committee for Aid to the Freedom Fighters of Hungary.

Soon the artists resumed their serious artistic work, which, in a very short time, assured a leading place for this ensemble in the international music world.

The enthusiastic approval met with again and again by them during their many tours in Europe and North America, as well as during musical festivals, is a proof of the importance and vitality of this orchestra.

It is all to the credit of the cultural policy of the Federal German Republic, the regions of North Rhine-Westphalia and the city of Marl, to have recognized the unique value of the Philharmonia Hungarica, and, through generous financial assistance, to have assured the continued existence of an internationally appreciated orchestra.

Many of the members of the Orchestra are winners of valuable music prizes and have successfully taken part in international music competitions. The Ramor Quartet, consisting of instrumentalists from the string sections, gained first prize in the Geneva International Music Competition in 1957, and in 1962 the same prize was awarded to the Wind Quintet of the Philharmonia Hungarica.

Several of the members of the Philharmonia Hungarica were attracted to the career of soloist, others distinguished themselves through invitations to perform with renowned European and American Orchestras. And yet they all resolved, out of a sense of artistic integrity and patriotism, to remain loyal to the commitment of their own orchestra.

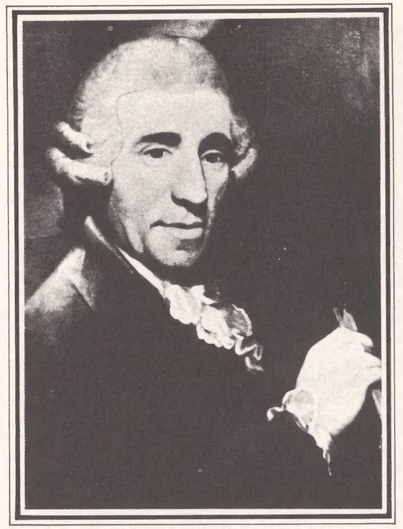
As an instance of the reputation enjoyed by the Orchestra with international audiences and press, let me quote the words which a Greek critic wrote on the occasion of a series of concerts at the 1962 Athens International Festival: "Our country – Music! That is the message of religious and patriotic faith one almost hears at a performance of the Philharmonia Hungarica. One also gets the impression that these men and women, who were forced to leave their country against their will, have brought with them, and preserved, not only the music, but – a particle of their home country!"

Notes on Symphonies 36-48 by H. C. Robbins Landon

It is now well known that the 107 symphonies of Haydn are not in strict chronological order. The great Austrian scholar, Eusebius von Mandyczewski, assembled his list of 104 symphonies in 1907, in connection with the opening volumes (Symphonies Nos. 1-40) of the Breitkopf & Härtel *Gesamtausgabe*, planned to coincide with the centenary celebrations for Haydn's death in 1909. Mandyczewski left out three works, a lost Symphony in D (known to us from Haydn's thematic *Entwurf-Katalog*, about which more will be said *infra*) and two other works which he believed were, respectively, a string Quartet (Opus 1, No. 5) and a *Divertimento* or *Partita* in B flat– both works which modern scholarship has rightly restored to Haydn's symphonic *oeuvre*. As for the chronological order, Mandyczewski used such autographs as were then available (almost all Haydn's autographs are dated), and with other information – mainly the famous Breitkopf Catalogues – he put together a list, the chronological principle of which, as he stated in his foreword, was not to date a work too early. Since 1907, much new information has come to light, even to the rediscovery of dated Haydn autographs. One such manuscript is Symphony No. 40, which Mandyczewski had placed *c.* 1770 on the basis of a manuscript dated 1770 in Göttweig Abbey on the Danube. Subsequently the dated autograph turned up and showed that the work had been written in 1763, which meant that it ought to have been inserted in Mandyczewski's list together with Nos. 12 and 13.

The principal sources for dating Haydn's earlier symphonies are: (1) the autographs, such as have survived; (2) dated contemporary copies and entries in catalogues, such as the Breitkopf Catalogues, which were issued almost every year from 1762 to 1787 and which offered for sale MS. and printed copies of the latest music of all *genres;* (3) the period of entry in Haydn's so-called *Entwurf-Katalog*, a running draft catalogue with incipits which the composer began about 1765 and kept till the end of the century or even to about 1805; the entries are sometimes sporadic and often in blocks. But by using dated autographs and other evidence, we can date fairly precisely the various blocks in the *Entwurf-Katalog*. Unfortunately the first pages are missing, and they contained all the early symphonies, entered into the catalogue by Haydn's copyist, Joseph Elssler (whose son Johann was also to be Haydn's principal music copyist). We know this because the page with which *EK* now begins contains the last entry of this large symphonic group (as it happens, the sixth and final work of a group of six miniature symphonies which are entitled *Scherzandi* on most contemporary manuscripts). The situation with regard to the symphonies included in this album is a chronological spectrum ranging from 1757 to 1772. The following table will, therefore, place the symphonies in chronological rather than numerical order.

Date of composition	*Number*	*Remarks*
c. 1757	37	A dated set of manuscript parts in the Archives of the Princes Schwarzenberg, Castle Böhmisch Krumau (Český Krumlov). On the upper right-hand corner of the title page is the date "1758". This is the earliest known copy of any Haydn symphony, and it precedes by one year the supposed date of the First Symphony: 1759. What probably happened is that Haydn, an old man when he told his biographer G. A. Griesinger the information, remembered writing his First Symphony for Count Morzin in Lukavec: he quite accurately remembered the *incipit*, and No. 1 (as we now call it) is definitely a very early work. But it may be that Haydn mixed up the date, because he once thought that he began writing symphonies as early as 1757, a date which would accord with the evidence of the Schwarzenberg copy of No. 37 – it generally took at least a year for copies of Haydn's newest symphonies to circulate to the Austro-Hungarian provinces.
c. 1761–5	36	The earliest dated source for this work is its entry in the Breitkopf Catalogue of 1769, but internal stylistic evidence – which we shall examine *infra* – suggests that it was composed earlier, probably between 1761 and 1765.
1763	40	Dated autograph, formerly owned by the poet E. H. W. Meyerstein and left by him to the British Museum.
c. 1766–8	38	Earliest dated sources are (1) Breitkopf Catalogue 1769; (2) Göttweig Catalogue 1769. In the *Entwurf-Katalog*, Haydn entered it together with Nos. 49 (autograph: 1768) and 57.
c. 1768	39	Earliest dated source is a set of parts in Göttweig Abbey dated 1770. In the *Entwurf-Katalog* Haydn entered it in pencil together with No. 20 (Breitkopf Catalogue: 1766), on page two at the top, to the left of a group of works composed in or about 1768 (*Lo speziale* Overture: 1768 and Symphonies Nos. 26 and 41).
c. 1768–9	48	Authentic MS. parts in the Castle of the Counts Zay von Csomor, Zay-Ugrócz (now Uhrovec, Slovakia), copied by Joseph Elssler and with the pencilled date 1769 and "Inter Difficillima N II" on the title page. Previously this work was thought to have been played (and composed) in honour of the Empress Maria Theresa's visit to Eszterháza Castle in the Autumn of 1773. It is otherwise first known to us in the Breitkopf Catalogue of 1773. The watermarks of the Joseph Elssler copy are similar to those in a Michael Haydn Church Aria in the Esterházy Archives at Eisenstadt dated 1771. The work was entered in the *Entwurf-Katalog* in the midst of symphonies composed in or about 1772.
c. 1769	41	Earliest dated references: (1) MS. parts entitled "Parthia . . . Comparavit R: P: Odo 1771" in Göttweig Abbey; (2) Printed parts by Sieber in Paris, including this work, a spurious work (actually a B flat Symphony by Michael Haydn, the first three movements of which were composed, as the autograph informs us, on 27 September 1766; the last movement is the Finale of Joseph Haydn's Symphony No. 59, transposed from A to B flat and rewritten in two-four rather than barred C time) and No. 49 (1768). The Sieber print was announced in the *Affiches, Annonces & Avis divers* on 12 December 1771. There is an authentic set of MS. parts by Joseph Elssler, formerly in the Archives of the Counts Chotek von Chotkowa und Wognin in Kačina Castle and now in the National Library at Prague. The watermarks of the manuscript, which is (like Elssler's copy of No. 38 – *vide infra* – and No. 48 – *vide supra* –) written on paper from the princely Esterházy paper at Lockenhaus, suggests that it was copied in 1769.
1771	42	The dated autograph manuscript is in the Esterházy Archives, Budapest (now the National Library). It was announced in the Breitkopf Catalogue for 1773.
c. 1771	43	Earliest source: Breitkopf Catalogue 1772.
c. 1771	44	Earliest source: Breitkopf Catalogue 1772. In the *Entwurf- Katalog*, Nos. 43 and 44 are entered as part of a large block of symphonies from or about the year 1772.
1772	45	The dated autograph manuscript is in the Esterházy Archives, Budapest. Otherwise the earliest dated source is "Comparavit R P/ Marianus 1774" in Göttweig Abbey.
1772	46	The dated autograph manuscript is in the Esterházy Archives, Budapest. Otherwise the earliest dated source is the Breitkopf Catalogue of 1773. Haydn's symphonies were now circulating rapidly; they reached Leipzig and even Paris as little as a year after their composition.
1772	47	The dated autograph manuscript is in the Esterházy Archives, Budapest. Otherwise the earliest dated sources are: (1) Göttweig Abbey, where Pater Marianus acquired the work in 1774; (2) Breitkopf Catalogue of 1774; (3) The first edition by Sieber in Paris, *Trois Symphonies* including Nos. 43, 52 and 47, announced on 7 February 1774 in the *Affiches, Annonces & Avis divers*. As for the internal chronology of Nos. 45-47, we have only the evidence of *Entwurf-Katalog*, where the works are entered as follows: Nos. 45, 46 (this looks like one entry), and then Nos. 65, 48, 46 once again (later cancelled) – these three might be another block entry. There then follow Nos. 47, 44, 51, 43. At the bottom, in quite another ink, is No. 41.



Portrait of Haydn by Thomas Hardy in 1792, commissioned by music publisher John Bland.

In May 1761 Haydn was engaged as Vice *Capellmeister* to Prince Paul Anton Esterházy, who lived at Eisenstadt Castle most of the year, going to Vienna for Christmas and sometimes taking his musicians with him. The nominal *Capellmeister* was the old and crotchety Gregor Werner, who continued to run the church music; Haydn was in charge of the orchestra. At the time of Haydn's engagement, the band was considerably enlarged. Most of the players were proficient on more than one instrument: of the two new horn players engaged in 1763, both could play string bass instruments as well. In these early years, the regular instrumental group consisted of one flute, two oboes, two bassoons, two horns, three violins, one violoncello and Haydn (who sometimes joined the violins and sometimes conducted from the harpsichord). The princely church music group also included a small nucleus of string players – a couple of violins, a cello and a double bass. The timpani player, Adam Sturm, was pensioned but could obviously be had for an occasional symphony with kettledrums. Later, the trumpet and timpani players were always recruited whenever necessary and were not regular members of Haydn's *instrumentarium*.

Gradually – especially when the new Castle at Eszterháza was opened – new string players had to be engaged permanently. Eszterháza was very lonely and there was no church group from which to borrow players; the nearest place was Oedenburg (now Sopron), and Haydn actually did borrow musicians from there when a great festival took place. By 1780, there were ten violinists (not including Haydn), two viola players, two cellists and two double bass players, apart from the usual woodwind and brass players.

In the early part of the 1760s, the band was regularly situated at Eisenstadt Castle, but they occasionally went to Kittsee Castle, a pretty residence across the Danube from Pressburg (now Bratislava, CSSR). A document of the year 1765, from the Esterházy Archives, tells us something of the circumstances under which most of Haydn's symphonies in the period 1761–1766 were first given. We read that Haydn is "to hold in our [Prince Esterházy's] absence two musical concerts every week in the Officers' room at Eisenstadt, *viz.* on Tuesdays and Saturdays from two to four o'clock in the afternoon. All the musicians are to appear . . .".

At Eszterháza, everything gradually came to centre round the opera house and, at the beginning, the elegant marionette theatre. Prince Paul Anton had died in 1762, to be succeeded by Prince Nicolaus (known as "The Magnificent"), under whom Haydn served till the Prince's death in 1790. Prince Nicolaus, a benevolent despot, was himself a good musician and encouraged Haydn in his far-reaching and occasionally extravagant experiments in the symphonic form. But Nicolaus's grand passion, apart from his fabulous diamond-studded uniforms, was opera; in 1768, the opera house was opened at Eszterháza and when it burned down in the disastrous fire of November 1779, Prince Nicolaus immediately set to work on a new and even larger one, which was opened on 25 February 1781 with the première of Haydn's *La fedeltà premiata*. From 1776 on, there was a regular operatic season at Eszterháza; previously, the operas produced had been exclusively by Haydn himself, but after 1776, he found himself becoming more and more an operatic *Capellmeister*. Prince Nicolaus preferred Italian *opera buffa*, and soon the theatre echoed to strains of Paisiello, Guglielmi, Gazzaniga, Cimarosa and Anfossi. Many new singers were engaged, including the pretty, dark-haired

Italian soprano, Luigia Polzelli, whose husband was engaged as a violinist. Haydn fell madly in love with "la Polzelli" and the two carried on an open love affair in front of their respective spouses. Naturally, with all this operatic activity, Haydn had less and less time to compose and after the enormously vital years of symphonic composition between 1761 and 1775, the symphony soon had to occupy a very minor role in Haydn's busy life. Actually he was very interested in opera as a form, and composed a great many very interesting stage works for Eszterháza.

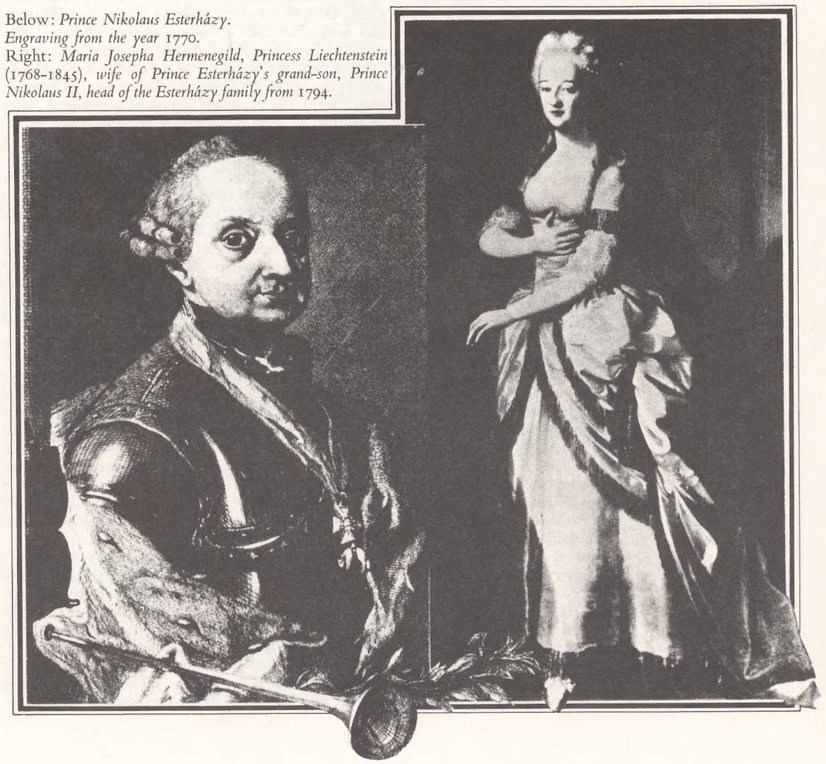
Apart from the opera house, Haydn also conducted the musicians for the marionette operas in the puppet theatre; he also composed several works for that theatre, which was soon famous throughout Europe. Here, all the operas were done in the German language, and a chorus, from the local population, could be recruited. Haydn soon became so interested in puppet operas that he formed his own private marionette theatre to entertain people in Carnival time. Once, the Prince actually hired Haydn's puppet group to perform at a surprise birthday party for his "dear Princess". Apart from Italian opera and German marionette operas, Esterházy was fascinated with the spoken theatre and engaged whole troupes of strolling players to take up residence at the Castle for months at a time. The most famous of these strolling players was the Karl Wahr Troupe, who spent many happy summers at Eszterháza. Prince Nicolaus commissioned German translations of Shakespeare plays from Wahr, and Haydn was able to enjoy *King Lear*, *Hamlet*, *Richard III*, etc., in special translations printed – like the operas and marionette pieces – at the Prince's expense in Oedenburg or Vienna. Haydn provided all the incidental music for the plays, and the Gotha *Theater-Kalender* lists "Capellmeister: Joseph Hayden" [*sic*] under the Wahr Troupe, "resident at His Highness, Prince Esterházy". Some of this incidental music, such as that to *Hamlet*, announced in the *Pressburger Zeitung* in 1774 has, alas, not survived. Some of the arrangements of other peoples' music which Haydn undertook, still exist: *e.g.* the music to *King Lear*, which Haydn reorchestrated and "dappered up" from an extant score by one Wilhelm Stegmann. And finally, some of this incidental music was turned into symphonies and has thus survived: we know that Nos. 60 and 63 were written as incidental music to plays given by Karl Wahr at Eszterháza, and we suspect the same of Nos. 59 and 65. As it happens, we have the total season's repertoire intact for Eszterháza Castle during the year 1778. It shows that concerts were given either for everyone, in the *sala terrena* (a lovely room, recently restored by the Hungarian authorities), or "nell' appartamento" of Prince Nicolaus – chamber music, in which the Prince often participated.

On 10 March a group of strolling players, the Pauli Company, arrived and took up residence. From that date until three days before Christmas, there was a German play, an Italian opera, or a German marionette opera every night except at Easter and when the Prince was not in residence. They put on *Romeo and Juliet*, Goethe's *Stella*, a number of Italian operas including Dittersdorf's *Arcifanfano* and marionette operas including Haydn's *Dido*.

On 28 October the Pauli Company gave their last performance and departed, to be succeeded in two days by the Diwald Troupe who, of course, brought with them a new repertoire, including Lessing's *Emilia Galotti* and Shakespeare's *Richard III*. In the year 1786, to choose a final example, Haydn conducted 125 operatic performances at Eszterháza, including a total of seventeen operas, eight of them premières; in 1788, he conducted 108 performances of seventeen (mostly different) operas, seven of them premières. Of all the great composers, none – not Verdi, not Puccini, not Gluck or Mozart – had an operatic routine of Haydn's scope.

Haydn's symphonies were now being rapidly disseminated throughout the Austrian Empire and in South Germany. As we approach the great symphonic period of the early 1770s, we can see Haydn's popularity increasing almost symphony for symphony. The monks in those remote but highly cultivated Benedictine, Augustinian and Cistercian monasteries immediately understood and appreciated these new and extremely modern works: even those in remote minor keys such as No. 45 (F sharp minor), which was enormously popular long before anyone knew the story attached to it. We find No. 45 in the Benedictine Monasteries of Lambach in Upper Austria (where the Mozart family used to spend the night), Kremsmünster (where the Mozarts much admired the elaborate Baroque fish-pond), Melk on the Danube (Lower Austria: here the great Albrechtsberger was organist in the late 1750s and early 1760s), and of course Göttweig, where Haydn's muse had been cultivated assiduously by the monks since 1762. No. 44 was equally popular: Melk, Göttweig and Kremsmünster owned it, but also the elegant Cistercian Monastery of Schlierbach in Upper Austria; the remote Praemonstratensian Monastery of Schlägl in Upper Austria near what is now the Czech border; the "peasant Baroque" (as it is called in Art-History terminology) Benedictine Monastery of Michaelbeuern near Salzburg; the beautiful

Below: *Prince Nikolaus Esterházy.*
Engraving from the year 1770.
Right: *Maria Josepha Hermenegild, Princess Liechtenstein* (1768-1845), *wife of Prince Esterházy's grand-son, Prince Nikolaus II, head of the Esterházy family from* 1794.



Romanesque Cistercian Monastery of Zwettl in Lower Austria, for which institution Haydn had composed his *Applausus* Cantata a few years earlier, in 1768 – all these ancient and venerable Abbeys appreciated one of the severest and most uncompromising of all Haydn's symphonies in a minor key.

Beyond the Austrian borders, the new symphonies travelled first to the Bavarian Monasteries and princely houses. The Prince of Oettingen-Wallerstein, Krafft Ernst, had his Viennese agent order all Haydn's latest symphonies: he ordered for Wallerstein Castle (the works are now housed in the huge archives of the Gothic Castle at Harburg) Nos. 38, 39, 41, 42, 43, 44, 46, 47 and no less than two copies of No. 48. In nearby Regensburg, the seat of the Princes of Thurn und Taxis, we find old MS. copies of Nos. 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44 (the principal source and probably the earliest – certainly textually the most reliable), 45, 46, and the earliest and best copy of No. 48 apart from the Joseph Elssler MS. mentioned earlier in these notes.

Northern Italy – especially where the Austrians governed (such as in Milan) – also collected these Haydn symphonies, and usually in batches of six. In Venice, the great Gustiniani family owned a large collection of Haydn's symphonies, Volume V of which contained (to choose one example) Nos. 57, 54, 56, 55, 46 and 45 – all works composed between 1772 and 1774 and obviously copied in Venice shortly after that.

It was still cheaper for most non-Frenchmen to purchase Haydn's latest symphonies in good Viennese (or Venetian or Leipzig) copies, which were accurately copied by professional writers and sold at a cheap price.

Johann Michael Haydn (1737-1806).
Joseph Haydn's younger brother. Lithograph by Franz Eybl.

Of course, Haydn never saw a penny from these transactions, nor did he earn anything, or know of the existence of, many of the French prints of his works which began to appear with great rapidity in the 1760s. The French publishers probably had their agents in Vienna who sent them the latest Haydn works in MS. copies; the Parisian public was soon so avid for Haydn that the publishers unscrupulously marketed as Haydn many products of lesser Austrian (and even German) composers who wrote in the Haydn manner: Leopold Hofmann, Carlos d'Ordoñez, J. B. Vanhal and, of course, Johann Michael Haydn, who was at this period composing many interesting and original symphonies for the Archiepiscopal Court in Salzburg. (We have just seen how one of his Symphonies, composed in 1766, was printed under his brother's name in Paris as part of Sieber's *Trois Simphonies* that included No. 41 – *vide supra*). Not every new Haydn symphony reached Paris, however: Nos. 36, 37 and 40 were never printed in Paris (or anywhere else for that matter until their appearance in the Breitkopf & Härtel *Gesamtausgabe*, whose third volume, issued in 1907, included these three works). But Paris printed all the others included in this volume, and usually they were the first editions, too. No. 38 was printed in 1779 by Mademoiselle de Silly in Paris as "Trois Simphonies à grande Orchestre dédiées a Madame d'Alleray. Composées par G. Haydn. Gravées par Melle de Silly. Prix 9l. À Paris. Chez Melle de Silly, Mde de Musique, Rue du Temple, près celle de Montmorency et aux adresses ordinaires". Two of the works were Haydn's Symphonies Nos. 20 and 38 (without the trumpets and timpani which Haydn may have added later, at least to No. 38), but the third is a D major Symphony by the Italian operatic composer Giuseppe Sarti. No. 39 was brought out in 1773 by Venier in Paris, together with Symphonies 58 and a butchered version of 22 (minus the first movement and with a new and probably spurious slow movement inserted between Haydn's second and fourth movements). The Minuets of Nos. 22 and 39 were omitted. Venier entitled his print "Ill Sinfonie a più stromenti composta dal Sigr. Giuseppe Hayden, Maestro di Concerto et Compositor di Musica di S. E. il Principe Esterhasy, Opera XV, nuovamente stampate a spese di G. B. Venier. Prix 7l 4s. Le parti d'obboe et corni da caccia sono ad libitum. À Paris chez Mr. Venier, Editeur de plusieurs ouvrages de musique, Rue St Thomas du Louvre vis-à-vis Le Chatea[u] d'Eau . . .". We have mentioned Sieber's print of No. 41, together with a Michael Haydn Symphony and a Joseph Haydn Finale, and Joseph's No. 49. Sieber omitted the trumpets and timpani in No. 41, and his print is entitled: "Trois Simphonies a deux violons, alto, et basse, cor, et hautbois, composées par G. Heyden, Prix 7l 4s. À Paris, chez Mr. Sieber de l'Académie Royale de Musique, Rue St Honoré à l'hôtel d'Aligre près la Croix de Trahoire . . .".

Sieber also issued the first edition of three Haydn Symphonies in February 1774: Nos. 43, 52 and 47, engraved by Madame Moria, and entitled "Trois Simphonies a deux violons, alto et basse, cor, et hautbois composés [*sic*] par J. Hayden, Prix 7l 4s" with a slightly different address (*cf.* the print of No. 41): "chez le St. Sieber, rue St Honoré à l'hôtel d'Aligre ancien Grand Conseil . . .". For No. 47, which we know was composed in 1772, it was very quick work to have brought out the first edition as early as February 1774; perhaps Haydn furnished the engraver's copy, for we know that he was in touch with Sieber at a later date.

Curiously, No. 42 was not printed in Paris until 1784, when Sieber and Imbault brought it out jointly. No. 44 also appeared rather late on the French scene. It formed part of an edition published by Guera in Lyon and was entitled "Trois Simphonies a grand orchestre composées par Messieurs Hayden et Vanhall, les cors de chasse ad libitum. Prix 7l 4s. À Lyon chés Guera Editeur et Md de Musique, Place des Terreaux, à Paris au Bureau du Journal de Musique, Rue Montmartre"; the edition was engraved by Mlle. Ferrieres, another of the numerous French ladies who were professional music engravers. It appeared about 1780 (because the British firm of Longman & Broderip announced the print as "just imported" in the *Morning Herald* on 30 January 1781). The Guera print included a Vanhal symphony and Haydn's Nos. 57 and 44.

In 1775, the Bureau d'Abonnement Musical in Paris brought out four Haydn Symphonies, two spurious ones (by Vanhal and another in E flat which exists variously as Pierre van Maldere or Franz Aspelmayr) and Nos. 45 and 46. Only one copy of this extremely rare print has survived; it is in the Universitetsbiblioteket of Lund who kindly supplied us with photostatic copies. It is entitled "Raccolta Del Harmonia Collezione Ottogesima Decina Del Magazino Musicale. Quattro Sinfonie concertanti A Grand Orchestra Per Violino primo, Violino secondo, Oboe primo, Oboe secondo, Corno primo, Corno secondo, Alto Viola e Basso. La Prima Sinfonia [by Vanhal, in C] Con Timpano e Due Clarini ad libitum. La Terza Sinfonia Con Quattro Violini [Haydn's No. 45] e li altri Stromenti. Composte Dal Signore Giuseppe HAIDEN Opera XXIV. Prezzo 9l. A PARIS Au Bureau d'Abonnement Musical Rue du hazard Richelieu [*etc.*]". Here, the French publisher was so confused by the Finale that he changed it radically, stopping the music in the *Adagio* at the C sharp cadence in bar 67 and instructing the players "D. C., al presto Finale senza replique", which means that the Symphony ends where the Presto ends, on a half-cadence in the dominant. No wonder that French audiences found this music bizarre in the extreme!

The popular Symphony No. 48, which was circulated all over Central Europe in manuscript copies, did not reach the Paris presses until 1784, when the *Affiches, Annonces & Avis divers* told of its publication on 1 April by Imbault and Sieber jointly. The dissemination of Haydn's music by the printed page was still haphazard and usually unauthentic (though it happens that the Imbault-Sieber edition of No. 48 is unusually reliable). It was not until Haydn himself began to sell his own works to the various publishers that some kind of order

enters into this chaotic situation, when publishers could and did issue genuine and spurious Haydn works from any text they could procure.

Symphony No. 36 in E flat. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns, strings, to the bass line of which has been added a bassoon and a harpsichord *continuo*, as was Haydn's practice at this time. In the second movement (*Adagio*) the scoring is for "Violino principale", "Violoncello Solo", with string orchestra (and harpsichord *continuo*). In the absence of a dated source earlier than its announcement in the Breitkopf Catalogue of 1769, we must try to date this Symphony on internal evidence. The following reasons may be cited why the date *c.* 1761–5 seems more accurate:

(1) It is not found on pages one or two of the *Entwurf-Katalog*. Since all the symphonies of the period 1765–8 which can be checked against the autographs and other evidence are, except for No. 30 (1765), found on the first two pages of *EK*, one would be inclined to say that 1765 is the outward limit.

(2) The use of a solo violin and solo cello in a *concerto-grosso*-like structure points to a period earlier than 1765–8. This technique is used in the famous trilogy *Le Matin*, *Le Midi* and *Le Soir* (Nos. 6–8, autograph of No. 7 dated 1761), in No. 31 (1765) and in No. 72 (*c.* 1763?). Others (Nos. 13 and 24) have a slow movement which employs a similar technique which is, however, more related to the concerto than the *concerto grosso;* but No. 13 is (autograph) dated 1763 and No. 24 (autograph) 1764, so that whether concerto or *concerto grosso*, Haydn's solo technique is definitely pre-1766. Another use of a solo violin in a mock recitative similar to that in the Symphony *Le Midi* occurs in the *Divertimento à nove* (Hoboken II: 17) for clarinets, horns and strings, which was composed about 1761.

(3) The second subject of No. 36's opening movement is in the dominant *minor*, a feature characteristic of the earliest symphonies written at Lukavec. We shall find this trait in No. 37's first movement, a work which is known to have been composed in 1758 or before. On the other hand, no symphony which can be positively dated after 1761 has a first movement employing this device.

(4) None of the movements in No. 36, with the possible exception of the trio in the minuet, employs the eight- (four-) bar period. Even if we stretch a point and consider the finale as having a very rudimentary kind of 4+4 structure, it is obvious that in no way does the thematic construction of No. 36 compare with that of Nos. 35 (1 December 1767), 38, 39 or 41. In 1765, Haydn was still torn between the "spinning-out" technique of the baroque period as exemplified in No. 36 and the more modern 4+4 system; thus, the former applied to the first movement of No. 28 and partly to No. 31 as well, the latter to the first movements of Nos. 29 and 30 and the Finales of Nos. 30 and 31 as well as almost all the minuets and trios. Other movements approach the regular periodic structure (as the slow movement of No. 31) but are not yet quite regular. After 1765, Haydn inclined more and more to the regular period. Yet if we go back only one year, there is no such clear proof, and we find almost all the movements of the 1764 Symphonies (Nos. 21–4) adhering to the baroque "spinning-out" process. If we study No. 36, we find exactly that pattern; and there is the same nervous bass line in quavers such as we find in the quick movements of Nos. 21–4.

The sturdy opening *Vivace* of No. 36 reflects the sunny warmth so characteristic of Haydn's writing in E flat. The theme is one of those "spun-out" kind referred to above, which generates strength by rhythmic rather than melodic tension. Such phrases as

accompanied by semiquavers in the second violin and quavers in the lower strings generate a kind of momentum of their own. The second subject in B flat minor is constructed in baroque imitations, but the rhythmic basis of the first subject returns afterwards to conclude the exposition. The second part is not a development in the sense that Haydn's movements later became; here the material is further extended. One trait may be observed which often occurs in Haydn's first movements of the early 1760s. The second part begins with the main theme in the dominant and then modulates straight back to the tonic, still with the main theme, *after* which the extension begins, and also the modulations to remoter keys. Two offsprings of this practice may be observed: (1) it is the basis for what will later become the *fausse reprise*. But to make a "false recapitulation" there must be much more time between the statement of the theme, or whatever, in the dominant and the statement in the tonic, which turns out to be the springboard for further development rather than a recapitulation. A brilliant early example of such a *fausse reprise* occurs in the first movement of No. 41. (2) This return to the tonic to begin the development section is a feature of Haydn's mature sonata-rondo movements, usually finales. There is little doubt that this baroque turn of key (as one might call it) in No. 36, and in many other first movements of the early symphonies, is a device which later became expanded to different and structurally more potent means. Both parts of the movement are to be repeated, as is usually the case in the early symphonies: this in itself presupposes that there will not be a great crisis in the development leading to a dramatically important recapitulation, for such a second section could hardly be repeated. The later Haydn – of the London Symphonies – writes such unrepeatable second sections. But here the symphony was not yet a dramatic form of expression, nor had it been exposed to the brilliant wit of comic opera. Haydn, using these baroque methods of construction, is able to create an interesting and taut piece of music which stays at an extraordinarily high level of rhythmic tension.

Recently the Hungarian scholar Janos Harich sent a long article to the *Haydn Yearbook* dealing with thematic catalogues in the Esterházy Archives. Among the many fascinating discoveries was a catalogue of instrumental music drawn up at Eisenstadt about the year 1740. In it, we find a great number of concertos by Vivaldi, among them *The Seasons*. Obviously some of this music was still in the Esterházy repertoire when Haydn joined the band in May 1761, especially since the music had been largely collected by Prince Paul Anton in Italy. There is, indeed, authentic evidence from Haydn's biographer Dies that it was the Prince who suggested to Haydn to set the times of day to music: *Le Matin*, *Le Midi*, *Le Soir*. No doubt all those elaborate solo passages, including soli for the double bass, did not displease Prince Paul Anton, used as he was to Vivaldi's concertos. It is also worth recalling that at this period (the early 'sixties), Haydn was interested in writing concertos himself, something he was not later in his career; this was the time when he wrote the violin concertos for Luigi Tomasini, the horn concertos, the lost concertos for flute, and for double bass, and the Concerto in C for cello which has in the last decade, since its sensational rediscovery in the Prague National Library, become popular with players and audiences alike. In No. 36's majestic *Adagio* we have what is almost completely a baroque double concerto movement for solo violin, solo cello and string orchestra. As in many, indeed most, of Haydn's slow movements of the late 1750s and early 1760s, the wind instruments are dropped. The whole structure is firmly baroque, from the dotted "French" rhythms to the fact that sometimes (as in bars 4 and 5) only the *basso continuo* supports the two solo instruments; and of course the movement is in typical Vivaldian "ritornello" form, that is to say the music modulates from one key to another and is "set up" by the *forte ritornello*. Perhaps its delightfully old-fashioned cast is a hint of what Prince Paul Anton liked in the way of music.

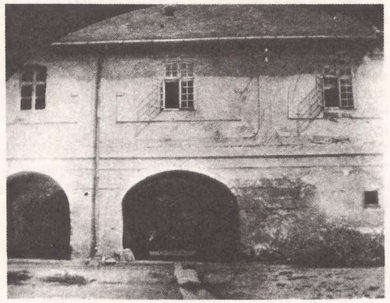
There is nothing old-fashioned about the *Menuetto*, with its very Austrian "snap" in the violins. The Trio is very original, using the oboe almost like an organ in the first section. And the Finale, too, is in the most modern 1760-ish language, with an intriguing second subject in darting semiquavers for the first violin.

Symphony No. 37 in C. Scoring: (1) first version, probably the earliest, and that found in the 1758 Schwarzenberg copy, 2 oboes, 2 horns, strings, to the bass line of which has been added a bassoon and a harpsichord *continuo*, as was Haydn's practice at this time. We are fortunate in having an interesting collection of early Haydn Symphonies which the writer of these notes identified in the Budapest National Library ten years ago. They were owned by a Lieutenant-Colonel von Fürnberg who was probably a relative of the Fürnberg at whose summer castle in Weinzierl Haydn composed his first string quartets. Haydn corrected these symphonic parts for the military Fürnberg, even rewriting the horn parts at one passage in the first movement of Symphony No. 11. In this collection, No. 37 figures as "Sinfonia Ex C à 8. 2 Violini 2 Oboi 2 Corni Viola con Basso Del Sigre Giuseppe Heydn". It is copied by a man whom we have not been able to identify but whom Haydn used often, *inter alia* when he was selling MS. copies of his new piano sonatas "de anno 1776". (2) The second version of No. 37 comes from Haydn's friend, Ritter von Kees, who was a great music lover and had large orchestral concerts in his Viennese home. Haydn was often present and the name Kees often occurs in the composer's letters. Kees made, probably with Haydn's assistance, a thematic catalogue of Haydn's symphonies up to 1790, when the composer went to England. Haydn owned a duplicate copy. Part of the Kees collection was sold after his death to the Thurn und Taxis Archives in Regensburg, and it happens that not only the thematic catalogue but also the MS. parts by the same copyist of Symphony No. 37 are still in the Regensburg library today. Here the Symphony has different oboe parts, which are palpably spurious, but instead of horns (in C *basso*) it has trumpets playing the same parts an octave higher, and timpani. It is likely that Haydn added timpani parts for some of his symphonies, and probably for performances at the Kees household: the trumpet and drum parts for Symphony No. 75 may have come into existence in this way. The kettledrum part of No. 37 is tasteful and it might have been added by Haydn, but there is no other evidence of it.

Once again it is the rhythmic content that holds together the almost "theme-less" opening subject: the rhythm

is indeed developed right during the theme, which even in this very early Symphony is a Haydnesque fingerprint. The second subject is in G minor, with a rather mournful violin line that moves from d to g via e flat and f sharp, giving a rather Hungarian flavour to the whole. In the development, we note that, just as in No. 36, Haydn modulates back to the main key, and the main subject, before starting the development; he is clever enough to avoid stating the main subject at the beginning of the recapitulation. It is all on a rather primitive level, no doubt, but one notes the impeccable craftsmanship and the enormous energy and vitality that pulse through this young man's impetuous *Presto*.

The *Menuet* is placed second, as Haydn often does in his string quartets up to Opus 20 and sometimes does in his symphonies. A typical baroque feature is the little interlude at the beginning of the second part, just for the two violins. One notes the frequent use of triplet quavers, a device one often encounters in Haydn's early minuets. The Trio drops the wind parts: this, too, is typical. They were usually omitted in preclassical symphonies from trio and slow movement, as they are here. Haydn already has a keen sense of key relationships. Both the Trio and the slow movement are in the tonic minor: a very Italian minor, too, like Vivaldi's. Pensive, graceful but not at all tragic; no more sombre than a summer cloud over the Lombardian or Venetian landscape. Yet though the language of this kind of movement is frankly derived from Italian models, Haydn has contrived to make the work as a whole sound like a typical Austrian chamber symphony (we speak of the first, trumpet- and drum-less version, of course). This is especially true of the Finale, which has a very Austrian sound to it: especially those triplets, which derive from the dance in general and the minuet in particular.



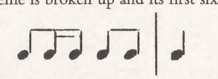
Entrance to the musicians' house at Eszterháza Castle.

Haydn's seal. 1771.

Symphony No. 38 in C. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns in C (probably *alto*), 2 trumpets, timpani, strings, to which we have added a bassoon and harpsichord *continuo*. The sources to this brilliant Symphony suggest that Haydn revised it at least twice. There are four passages in the first movement where Haydn originally had rests for the wind instruments; a whole group of early MSS. show this reading. Listeners may hear one such passage clearly: the second subject starts out for strings alone; after four bars the oboes join. This happens not only in the exposition but also in the recapitulation. These oboe passages are one of the things that Haydn seems to have added later. (Or did he remove them later? It seems unlikely.) The second principal revision is the addition of trumpets and timpani. Many of the oldest sources do not contain them. There is in fact a very simple explanation for their omission, namely that at this period there were no trumpet players in the Esterházy establishment and no regular kettledrum player. Later Haydn got round this problem by having C *alto* horn parts and kettledrums in his C major works, but he seems to have hit on this idea in 1773 when performing his opera. *L'infedeltà delusa* for the first time. We have no idea at which point he added the trumpets and timpani, but they are found in good sources of the year 1769 (Göttweig, Breitkopf) and so possibly there is another explanation: Haydn wrote the Symphony *with* the trumpets and timpani (which he could have in Eisenstadt by recruiting the *Thurnermeister* and his apprentices) and later sold authentic copies without them, for bands (such as his own) that did not have these instruments available. Perhaps that is why Joseph Elssler's beautifully written manuscript parts, which professor J. P. Larsen and the present writer found at the Academy Library in Bratislava in 1959, lack the trumpets and timpani. The source was owned by the Servite Monastery in Pest (today's Budapest) and is dated 1777 by *them* (not by Elssler, who may have written it ten years earlier).

Here we have, in No. 38, one of the first Esterházy symphonies in Haydn's festival key, and with the festival C horns (here also with trumpets) and timpani. These works of pomp and circumstance run like a silver thread all through Haydn's long career: from his first works for Count Morzin (which included several festival symphonies: Nos. 32 and 33 in any case, perhaps also No. 20, which is a difficult work to date), to this No. 38, and then to No. 41 (which we shall be examining *infra*), No. 48 (the famous *Maria Theresa* Symphony which was not composed for her), No. 50 (written for Maria Theresa but not known under that title) and culminating for a moment in the glorious No. 56. Later we find No. 60 (*Il distratto*), No. 63 (*La Roxelane*) and the once-famous *Laudon* Symphony (No. 69); then *L'ours* and No. 90 for the French capital, and ending with the greatest of them all: Symphony No. 97 (London, 1792).

Although a festival Symphony, we feel the enormously increased poise and self-confidence compared to its numerical predecessor in the same key, composed a decade earlier. Haydn's language has become clearer, immensely more powerful and better organized. Notice the new strength at the beginning of the development, where the theme is broken up and its first six notes



used to urge the music into G minor and then D minor and A minor, before we subside into the subdominant, F major. This is music very much of the period *c.* 1766–8. We must not forget that in 1766, Haydn became Chief *Capellmeister*, succeeding Gregor Werner who died in that year. The change in outward circumstances matched

Haydn's own change of style. We notice a new seriousness of purpose, of language. Haydn could now write church music, a task previously allotted to Werner, and in 1766 we have the large-scale *Missa Cellensis in honorem B.V.M.*, a huge Mass for the great baroque pilgrimage church of Mariazell in Styria, to be followed the next year by the famous *Stabat Mater*. All this attention to larger vocal music found its effect on the symphonies, which grow increasingly serious as the 1760s end.

The second movement is still very much rooted in baroque tradition. Here we have an "echo" movement, so beloved by baroque composers, even to J. S. Bach in the *Christmas Oratorio*. Haydn devises the echo as follows: violin I is without mutes, violin II with mutes. They echo each other in an entrancing way in this delicate and poised *Andante molto*, made doubly delicate by dropping all the winds and of course the kettledrums and also by having the entire movement played *piano*, like some tiny music-box in a forgotten room of an unused castle wing. It is an enchanting effect.

The Minuet has become firmer, the melodic lines much more sharply etched, and even more Austrian. The Minuet of Symphony No. 37 could be international preclassical, but this *Menuet*, despite its French spelling, is purely Austrian. We are surprised to find the Trio given over entirely to an elaborate oboe solo. But we are in for more oboe surprises in the Finale, and it is only then that we see that Haydn has secretly revealed his plan earlier in the Trio. (Again, this is a trait that will become typical for late Haydn symphonies: to foretell a big solo, or a remote key, earlier in the work.) This Finale is by far the most colourful movement since the fireworks of No. 31 with its incredible horn soli. In No. 38's conclusion we find: (1) the most highly-developed example of sonata form found in any Haydn finale to date; (2) an interesting and characteristic use of motives derived from the main subject; (3) Haydn's first full-scale use of contrapuntal devices in a finale written in sonata form (as opposed to strict fugues such as the Finale to No. 40); (4) the use of a solo instrument (the oboe) in a concerto-like manner as in the slow movement of No. 36 just discussed. What raises this Finale over earlier specimens (like No. 37's) is the judicious combination of symphonic, polyphonic and *concertante* elements, all of which are neatly worked into sonata form.

The oboe solo is actually so unbelievable, coming at the end of a learned contrapuntal section, that one is tempted to look for an outside explanation. We believe there is one, and we put it forward as a possible reason for this sudden fascination with the first oboe part. On 1 September 1768, Haydn engaged a famous oboe player, Vittorino Colombazzo, who received the very high salary of 400 Gulden (and emoluments) a year. Before coming to Eisenstadt he had been in the service of the Archduke of Württemberg. Ten years later he came to Eszterháza, where he drew the highest salary paid to wind players. Colombazzo stayed the first time only from 1 September to 19 December at Eisenstadt. Is it not possible that Haydn was perhaps in the middle of Symphony No. 38 when the famous oboe player was engaged, and always ready to display a new performer's talents, the composer wrote the Trio and the Finale to introduce Vittorino Colombazzo to His Serene Highness, Prince Nicolaus Esterházy (who had become reigning prince in 1762)? There are reasons for supposing that the four horn parts of Symphonies Nos. 13 (1763) and 72 (1763?) are to introduce the new sound of four horns to the Prince. Perhaps Symphony No. 38 is a tribute to a great oboe player. It would be typical of Haydn to combine, as it were, business with pleasure . . .

Symphony No. 39 in G Minor. Scoring: 2 oboes, 4 horns, strings, to which has been added a bassoon and harpsichord *continuo*. No. 39 was, as we have seen, entered in the *Entwurf-Katalog* at the top of page two, in pencil, to the left of a group entry including No. 26 in D minor (*Lamentatione*). These two Symphonies in minor keys – to which may be added the "church sonata" Symphony No. 34 in D minor composed about 1766 – are the first tangible results of Haydn's increasing interest in minor keys. The *Stabat Mater* of 1767 is in G minor.

Very little is known about Haydn's personal life during these critical years. This almost total absence of concrete facts about his early years as *Capellmeister* to the Esterházy court renders it difficult to explain the extraordinary change which began to take place during the latter half of the 'sixties. One explanation is perhaps that Haydn seems to have suffered a dangerous illness about 1766; in fact he nearly died from it. Many years later, when in London, he explained the circumstances of the crucial *Stabat Mater* to the Rev. Christian Ignatius Latrobe, a Moravian minister and composer. Latrobe wrote down his conversations with Haydn in a letter to the British musician Vincent Novello. Latrobe tells us how in his early years he studied Haydn's *Stabat Mater*, a work which "more than any other . . . helped to form my taste, & make me more zealous in the pursuit of this noble science."

> He [Haydn] seemed delighted to hear my remarks on a Composition, [continued Latrobe] which he declared to be one of his favourites, & added, that it was no wonder, that it partook of a religious fervor, for it had been composed in the performance of a religious Vow. He then gave me the following account of it. Sometime about the year 1770 [*recte; c.* 1766], (but as to the particular year, I am not sure), he was siezed [*sic*] with a violent disorder, which threatened his life. "I was", said he "not prepared to die, and prayed to God to have mercy upon me & grant me recovery. I also vowed, that if I were restored to health, I would compose a Stabat Mater in honor of the blessed Virgin, as a token of thankfulness. My prayer was heard & I recovered. With a grateful sense of my duty, I cheerfully set about the performance of my Vow, & endeavoured to do it in my best manner . . ."

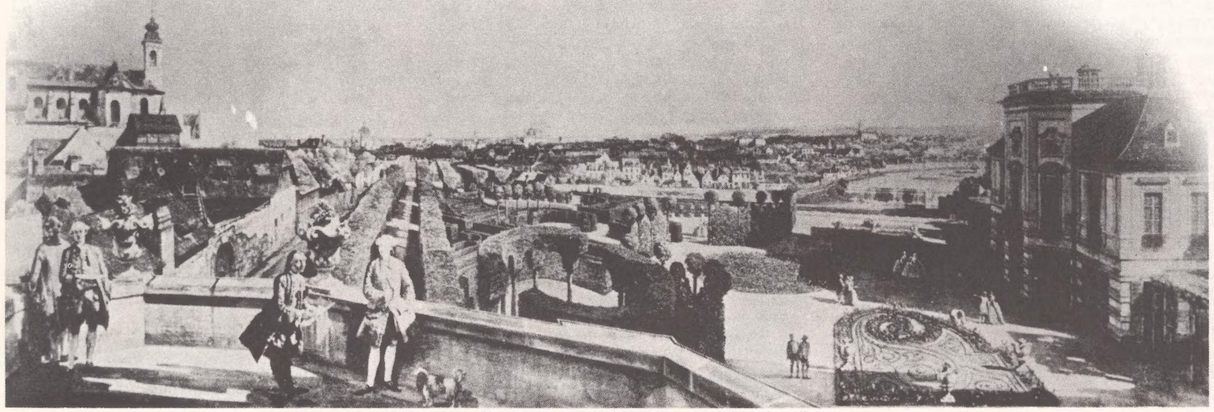
Vienna. View with the Karlskirche, the Belvedere and the Schwarzenberg Palace. Drawn and engraved by Johann Ziegler.

Probably the great *Missa Cellensis in honorem B.V.M.* of 1766 is also a thank-offering to the Blessed Virgin; it is also noteworthy that the next Mass, the *Missa in honorem B.V.M.* (known as the Great Organ Mass), composed about 1768, is also dedicated to the Virgin. At any rate, this emotional upheaval brought with it the composer's full maturity. The force that generated this new style has often been termed *Sturm und Drang*, a term derived from German literature and taking its name from a play by Klinger of 1776. The "Storm and Stress" occurred earlier in Austrian music, however, and it was not limited to Haydn. The whole of Austrian music seemed to undergo what Wyzewa, the Mozart scholar, termed "La crise romantique de la vie de Joseph Haydn". We find sombre minor keys and fugal quartets in the works of Florian Leopold Gassmann and Carlos d'Ordoñez (who despite his Spanish name was a Viennese official and composer), and there are passionate symphonies in minor keys by Johann Baptist Vanhal, a talented *seguace* of Haydn's, Ordoñez , Dittersdorf and others. For one thing, the minor key in itself was now treated entirely differently. Previously the minor mode had been used by Haydn only in individual slow movements or as part of a finale in rondo form; its use in no way indicated an emotion different from the typical light Italian sadness which we have observed in connection with No. 37. After 1761, hardly any symphony by Haydn contains movements in the minor. In his usual, cautious way he now begins the series with a Symphony (No. 34) of mixed tonal scheme, opening with a tragic and poignant slow movement in D minor, much in the manner of the church-sonata symphonies of 1764 (Nos. 21, 22). The remaining three movements of No. 34 are, however, all in D major and become successively more light-hearted. Following this work, though intermixed with a number of symphonies in the major, Haydn wrote Nos. 26, 39 and 49, each of which is written entirely (except for an occasional section, such as the Trios) in a minor key and is spiritually far removed from the carefree style of Haydn's early years. Speaking of this problem, the Swiss scholar Bernhard Rywosch says:

> A symphony in the minor means something out of the ordinary for a symphonist of the eighteenth century. The minor, as the tonality of the outer movements, is the vehicle for the expression of passion or grief. This is in contradistinction to a large number of thoroughly festive, joyous concertos of the baroque era (*cf.* Vivaldi: *Concerti Grossi* in A minor, D minor). Philipp Emanuel Bach, on the other hand, uses minor tonality wholly to serve the expression of passion, perhaps most persuasively in the clavier concertos, for example the Clavier (Harpsichord) Concerto in D minor.

We know how assiduously Haydn, during his student years in Vienna, studied and admired the keyboard works of C. P. E. Bach; yet it was many years before Haydn's music was to show what he is often quoted as having said; namely, that "anyone can see how much I have learned from [C.P.E.] Bach." It took nearly a decade for the enthusiasm of student days to become the reality of the *Sturm und Drang*.

It cannot, however, be said that C.P.E. Bach's style manifests itself directly in Haydn's music; rather it was the underlying spiritual *beliefs* of the former that appear to have exerted such a profound influence on the young composer. Bach's fundamental artistic code was something that artists of the Renaissance had realized long before: that all art should contain a spiritual message and must breathe it forth with an emotion so immediate and so powerful that the listener, seeing or hearing it, must perforce grasp its real significance. The idea that music might have a deeper meaning, that art was not only to entertain and delight, must have burst over Haydn's ordered scheme of things (in which the summit of his ambition had been to provide the most attractive music he could compose for the amusement of his princely audience) just as Donatello's new concept of sculpture burst over the beginnings of the Italian Renaissance. In conjunction with this new artistic principle, Haydn's style appears to have come under another influence of far greater importance than has hitherto been realized: the new operatic style of Gluck. It is significant that the latter's *Orfeo* (1762) and *Alceste* (1768) must have reached Haydn's ears just at this crucial stage in his artistic development. Recently the Hungarian scholar Janos Harich has shown that Haydn actually conducted Gluck's *Orfeo* at Eisenstadt, and we know that Haydn inserted bits of Gluck's ballet music into the second version of the marionette opera, *Philemon und Baucis* (*c.* 1776?), and ended it with a Gluck ballet suite from *Paride ed Elena* (1770). The sober, severe classical beauty of Gluck's music is so obviously reflected in Haydn's works, especially those under consideration, that it is strange that none of the writers on either composer has more than touched on this interesting aspect of Gluck's influence.



Vienna. View from the Kaunitz Palace. Painting by Bernardo Bellotto.

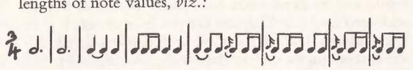
Haydn's G minor Symphony is original in many ways, not only for the harshness of its language, especially of the first movement and Finale, but for its orchestration. Here Haydn uses four horns, two in B flat *alto* and two in G. This means, firstly, that he can create sumptuous horn chords, and secondly that he has a pair of horns at his disposal when he modulates to the relative major. Haydn's work had far-reaching consequences. J. B. Vanhal modelled his G minor Symphony on it, even to the four horns (a new edition of the Vanhal has been published recently by Verlag Doblinger in Vienna), and so, in 1773, did the young Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (also using four horns in the Haydnesque disposition). And it is worth recalling that when Mozart began the great G minor Symphony K.550, he started to write for four horns, two in B flat *alto* and two in G, later reducing them to two.

The first movement of No. 39 is curiously unsettling. The main theme is announced and continued *piano*, and the tension inherent in its thematic layout is heightened by the extraordinary use of silence between the various sections. (This use of rests to increase the dramatic effect becomes a very important detail in Haydn's mature style, of which we are now on the threshold; no one knew better than Haydn how to employ the art of silence, and many of his finest effects are derived by the simple expedient of inserting a pause in the right place.) In No. 39's opening *Allegro assai*, the whole character of the movement is changed by the use of a rest in the middle of the main subject. To give the second part of the melody a still more individual twist, Haydn stretches the last phrase with its characteristic octave skip, so that the theme simply dies away to nothing. The structure of the three component parts (4+6+4) is also cleverly veiled by the insertion of rests. Having achieved such a restless, almost frustrated atmosphere, Haydn creates a still more unified tension by employing this one theme throughout the movement. Indeed, Haydn cannot escape from its hypnotic effect: he modulates from the tonic to the relative major: and the first subject appears, extending itself contrapuntally. In the development, he reaches a superb, five-part tutti in which the violins, in imitation, sweep through a fine sequence; and again, we see that the oboe part is based upon a tiny fragment of the main theme, the string parts being derived from a figure found at the end of the exposition which, in turn, is developed out of the principal theme. The whole movement is held together by a device which any student of Haydn's symphonies composed in the early 1760s knows: a bass line constantly moving in quavers.

After the tension of the first movement, the quiet little *Andante* for strings only, is a throw-back to an earlier style: Haydn has not yet learned the secret of keeping up the tension throughout a whole work. The Minuet is again a wholly serious piece worthy of the outer movements, while the Trio, in B flat (the relative major), is again rather jovial. It is only the Finale which really reaches the inspiration of the first movement. Here we have, in a symphony in a minor key, the same highly advanced type of movement discussed in connection with Symphony No. 38. If the two middle movements of No. 39 were on the same high artistic level of the outer allegros, we should have had one of Haydn's finest *Sturm und Drang* symphonies; as it is, this flawed masterpiece is one of the most interesting of this strange interim period. What makes this Finale successful is not only the energetic drive and the nervous semiquavers which carry on the restless spirit of the opening movement, but the care with which Haydn has provided a number of dynamic contrasts; thus, the violins rush down the scale into a *subito piano* (bars 14ff.), while after the double bar, the first and second violins have a long passage by themselves, *piano*; and the rest of the development is characterized by continual alterations of *p* and *f*.

Symphony No. 40 in F. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns, strings, to which has been added a bassoon and harpsichord *continuo*. In the autograph the Trio is scored for oboes, horns and strings; but in one contemporary manuscript, the Trio is scored for oboes, horns and bassoon, with the strings silent. We have no idea if this charming version is authentic.

The first movement is a breezy *Allegro* in three-four time. Unlike some of the main themes of this period, this one is asymmetrical, that is, not composed in equal numbers of bars. The forward-moving character of the theme, which is clearly felt, is achieved by rhythmic diminution or, if you will, by constantly decreasing the lengths of note values, *viz.*:



etc. Like so many movements of the early 'sixties, there is no real subject; when Haydn reaches the dominant, he pauses a moment and then resumes the spinning out, or extension, of material found in the opening subject.

The slow movement (*Andante più tosto allegretto*, B flat, 2/4) is one of the most original and delightful of the period. It owes its basic character – a "quick slow movement", one might term it – and the use of two-part harmony almost throughout (violins together, viola doubling the bass line) to the famous *Mann und Weib* movement of the early C major Divertimento entitled *Der Geburtstag* (Hoboken II: 11). Haydn's biographer Dies tells us that when this kind of two-part texture first appeared in the early Haydn quartets, it made a positive sensation in the musical world of the time. It was, in one way, a deliberate return to the type of *continuo* writing of the baroque period, in which the harpsichord filled in all the missing harmonies; but Haydn has brought the device "up to date", has filled it with his modern rhythms and harmonies, his humour, his delicately balanced formal sense. If you analyze this *Andante*, you will see that it is worked out in the greatest detail so that the second part, after the double bar, balances the first without directly repeating the opening material. Only once, in all Haydn's hundred-odd symphonies, does he treat us to this kind of light, dancing "Midsummer Night's Dream" music whose subtle, scherzo-like effervescence brings us close to the enchanted world of Mendelssohn.

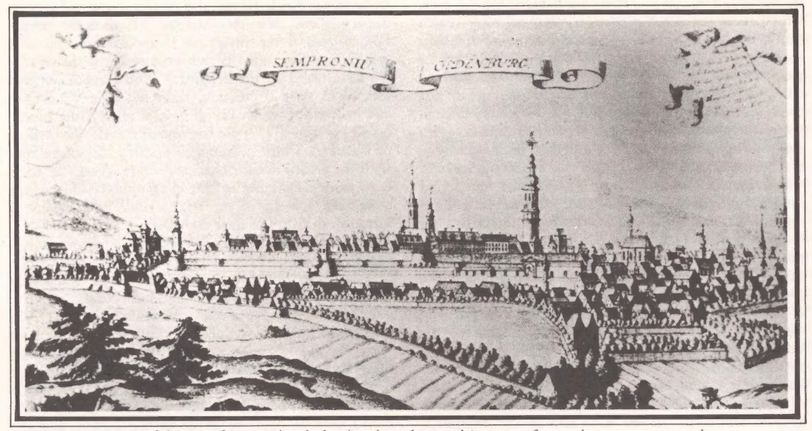
The *Menuet* is beautifully rounded and sonorous, with a delightful Trio almost like a *divertimento* of the period. The *Finale* is a strict fugue; apart from one more fascinating example (a giant triple fugue at the end of Symphony No. 70 in D, composed in 1779), it is the last time in a symphony when Haydn has recourse to a full blown fugue. Haydn's contrapuntal education was from the famous theoretical treatise by Fux entitled *Gradus ad Parnassum*, and he made his own extract for his composition pupils (one copy, owned by a pupil named Magnus, has fortunately survived and is now in the Esterházy Archives at Budapest). Here, in No. 40's Finale, is a typically Fuxian fugue, with the *cantus firmus* melodies that we find in his great textbook. It was Haydn's favourite practice to announce the fugue simultaneously with its countersubject in a kind of third species counterpoint. Actually, the previous fugues have something slightly schoolmasterly about them: they reek of the classroom (or, if you will, the Fuxian page) rather than the orchestral hall. But in No. 40 Haydn creates a strict fugue along his own lines: the rest at the beginning of bar 3 in the subject provides a typically Haydnesque impetus to the whole contrapuntal texture. Incidentally, you will hear at once what makes this movement such a successful combination of *stile antico* and Haydn: the episodic material, as it is termed in theory books, is textually contrapuntal but has a strong motivic and rhythmic background which brings us forward to 1763. The ends of such episodes will also revert to Haydn's usual orchestral texture, and of course the work must conclude with a rousing pedal point, a tremendous build-up of motion and tension (the syncopated violins are most important here), followed by the kind of unison that Haydn so loved and that his listeners undoubtedly received with 1763-ish (as opposed to 1663-ish historical) satisfaction. The movement is a brilliant *tour-de-force*, but it is not something Haydn chose to repeat often in an orchestral work. The reader who knows his late Haydn Masses, however, will realize at once that this movement laid the groundwork for the enormous contrapuntal structures which make the Masses and the last two Oratorios (*The Creation* and *The Seasons*) the towering monuments they are.

Symphony No. 41 in C. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns in C *alto*, 2 trumpets, timpani, strings, to which a bassoon has been added, as was Haydn's general practice. In the slow movement the scoring is for 1 flute, 2 oboes, 2 horns in C *basso* and strings.

Haydn's festival key, C major, has an historical explanation. By the time Haydn was a choir-boy in St. Stephan's Cathedral in Vienna, the average festival mass in which he will have participated was in C major, and this would be the key indelibly fixed on his mind as the "Missa Solemnis" tonality. If we examine fifty such masses in, say, the old monastery library at Göttweig (with which institution Haydn had at least indirect contact by 1762 and his younger brother Johann Michael as early as 1759), over half will be in C major. Vocally this is a convenient range, because bottom G in the bass clef is about the lowest note most average basses can sing openly, while top G for tenor and (an octave higher) for soprano is also as high as either group can manage without considerable vocal strain: and these G's would also be the dominant of the principal key of C. Trumpets and drums also sound martial and potent in that key. The sound of these harsh and biting C *alto*, or high C horns, together with the trumpets and timpani is intoxicating; it is a very Haydnish sound, too, which never appears in Mozart's or Beethoven's symphonies (though Mozart occasionally used C *alto* horns). In the orchestral layout of such a work as No. 41, it is fascinating to see how Haydn "saves" his horn players: the top range, with g^2 and very occasionally a^2 (as in the Trio of No. 41), is very difficult to sustain for any length of time, and one notes that it is always used for a special effect. In No. 41, for example, the first trumpet has the top g's in the *Allegro con spirito*, bars 16/18, as it does in the flaming orchestral passage at bars 165 *et seq.* The very strain of producing the long top g in No. 56's first movement, bars 212ff., not to speak of the shocking, barbaric sound of bars 263/266, lends a physical tension to a music already packed with nervous excitement.

We may wonder for what purposes these festive symphonies were written. In a series like the "Paris" and "London" works, it is clear that as a "diversion" it was a good idea to have one of the set in C. In the 1760s, Haydn may have written one or the other of these pieces for performance at an Austrian monastery (he was on friendly terms with several); some were undoubtedly composed for festive occasions at Eisenstadt or Eszterháza, such as No. 50, written (it would seem) to celebrate the arrival of the Empress Maria Theresa at the Hungarian Castle on the Neusiedlersee. Is it an accident that both the operas composed or played in her honour in September 1773, *Philemon und Baucis* and *L'infedeltà delusa*, end with C major tuttis and flourishes of the C *alto* horns?

Symphony No. 41 may have been written originally without the trumpets and timpani, which were lacking in Haydn's band at this period. At least the only authentic manuscript, by Joseph Elssler, which we discovered at Prague (from the Archives of Kačina Castle) many years ago, is scored for C *alto* horns but without trumpets and timpani, which latter instruments are found in many good sources – also in a MS. in the Esterházy Archives – and are certainly genuine. The first movement is in three-four time, the same metre as in Nos. 50, 56 and 60 (not counting the slow introductions). Students of Haydn will notice the clearly defined subsidiary subject (something of a rarity), also the new orchestral layout of the strings wherein the violas double the first violins at the octave in those so characteristic "rushing" passages in repeated semiquavers (*e.g.* bars 29ff.). Still another important orchestral device – it can be melodic, too – is the bouncing, wide skips of bars 44ff. This wide melodic range is a specialty of Haydn's style in the late 1760s and early 1770s. Finally, we would point to a famous device of Haydn's during the early 1770s, namely the *fausse reprise* or false recapitulation, which occurs during the development and leads the unwary listener to believe he is back at the repetition of the initial, expository material. We mentioned a rudimentary form of the *fausse reprise* in connection with No. 37's first movement, but here in No. 41 the device is used in full scale. The almost classic "false recapitulation" occurs at bar 97, after which we are whirled away into G minor and a long sequence in A minor: the real reprise begins at bar 133.



View of the city of Sopron (Oedenburg), where the Esterházy court frequently spent some months. Engraving by J. C. Leopold and Friedrich Bernhard Werner.

The second movement has Haydn's favourite device of muted violins, but the orchestra has changed: the horns are in C *basso* and a flute has joined the woodwind. What a rich tapestry of sound Haydn weaves, the flute rushing up and down in arabesques over a broad oboe cantilena and held horns! The discreet strings tap out a gentle reminder of the 2/4 beat as we are borne aloft in this extraordinarily beautiful and "rafinée" ensemble. Notice the "broken" melodic pattern of bars 24ff.: this kind of syncopation is a frequent guest at Haydn's table during the late 1760s. Like so many Haydnesque accompaniments, this one begins to be more and more insistent, colouring, underlining, shaping the whole development section (bars 25 *et seq.*).

The *Menuet* is more French than anything else, with its pompous trills and triplets; and to offset it Haydn writes a heavenly Trio which is completely and captivatingly Austrian – like the faint echo of an old and long-forgotten Tyrolean song. The Finale is a rushing *moto perpetuo* in which the pulse of the music is whipped along in quaver triplets (for some reason this sounds quicker if written in two-four with triplets than if it had been written in the more convenient six-eight). At the end the brass instruments hammer the repeated chords to a rousing and deafening close. It is the most brilliant and most successful of Haydn's festive C major symphonies up to now.

Symphony No. 42 in D. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, strings. We have often mentioned that a bassoon was added "as a matter of course" to the *basso continuo*. In several of the works now under examination, we may find concrete proof of the bassoons' rôle. Haydn's autograph of No. 42 specifies no bassoons at the beginning of the Symphony; but in the middle of the Finale, there is a whole little section of wind band, and the bass line suddenly directs: "2 Fagotti" (to which Haydn later added "o Violoncelli" in case a band might not have two bassoons). Now obviously the bassoons did not sit through three movements and then play sixteen bars, only to stop playing afterwards. They played with the bass line before. Perhaps they even played in the slow movements, because there is a note at the beginning of No. 47's slow movement, "Fagotto sempre col Basso", and no bassoon is mentioned before or afterwards in Haydn's autograph of that work.

No 42 is a witty, bright and marvellously written Symphony in the traditionally brilliant key of D major, the most popular of all keys in eighteenth century symphonies. Everything sounds alive in D major, but especially the strings; and Haydn exploits this joyously throughout the work. The first movement starts out like an operatic aria, with "joking" *acciaccature* in the violins, followed by a singing melody; and this joke is magnified when the theme is repeated shortly afterwards, by piling

up the *acciaccature* and introducing triplets into the fray. This is undoubtedly the first Haydn symphony which shows the beneficial and exhilarating influence of Italian comic opera. (Haydn himself had just completed *Le pescatrici* the year before [1770], his finest stage work to date, and full of that wit for which the composer was soon to become so famous.) Here is an instrumental piece which could be the *sinfonia* to some rollicking *opera buffa*: the surprise of the old ward who finds his charge has been seduced by a penniless but charming suitor is transmuted into the symphony. It is now the unexpected modulation, the quacking bassoon, the strutting horn that inform this music: the *sala terrena* at Eszterháza has become a stage. Haydn has also become another composer. Previously one sensed, now and then, a certain stiffness in his music, a certain scholarly bent (much more pronounced in his brother Michael); now, with one sweep of the *buffa* broom, Haydn is completely relaxed. The two main characteristics of the first movement are brilliance and humour, though both are relieved – as in all great comedians – by a tender side. (Like Watteau, Haydn was "tendre et peut-être un peu berger . . ."). And of course he is well on his way to becoming music's greatest craftsman. As we modulate to the dominant, Haydn becomes marvellously and poetically sidetracked, even passing through B major en route to A; but the scholarly bent is now effortlessly integrated into the style as a whole. There was plenty of thought for the connoisseur, but plenty, too, for the average music-lover, who will have relished the dashing violins in semiquavers and the sweep of this wonderful movement. There is a delicately poised second subject, for strings alone, in perfectly proportioned four-bar phrases. The poise of the later Viennese classical style is now with us.

The beautiful slow movement (not so slow: *Andantino e cantabile*) retains, as do all Haydn's slow movements in this album from now on, the wind instruments; but they are used with great delicacy, almost colouristically. The melody sounds like an old song, a church tune perhaps; Haydn has learned the trick of writing music so close to folk-songs as to be almost identical with the real thing. It was a conscious effort, too. Those readers who possess a score may like to examine an interesting change Haydn made. The original version of bars 43-45 and 141-3 were quite different; after bar 45 three whole bars are crossed out, and after 143 another three bars; in the first of these passages Haydn led the violins to b sharp

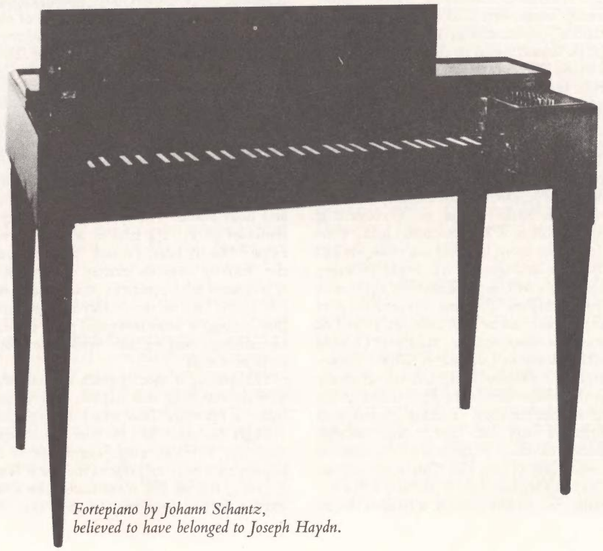
but then crossed it out and made a note on the autograph, "Dieses war vor gar zu gelehrte Ohren" (This was for just too scientific [learned] ears). More and more, Haydn felt that *Vox populi* was *Vox Dei* . . .

The *Menuet* is so infectious and so gay that it must be a very jaded person who will not succumb to its charms. And what about that incredible Trio, where the *piano* violins imitate far-away D trumpets, even to the typical trills? In the Finale Haydn also creates a new and revolutionary form: the characteristic Haydnesque rondo. Perhaps this is the first time it appears, at least in a symphony. The tune that we seem to know the minute we have heard it; the delightful wind band sextet that follows as the "B" section, right out of a wind-band *divertimento* (of which Haydn wrote many); the mock-heroic section ("D") in the minor; even the *fermata* preceded by a little sentimental journey; the brave end, with the violins in their energetic semiquavers – all these are stylistic details dear to Haydn's famous rondos, which conquered Europe in the next decade and became a virtuoso speciality of their composer.

Symphony No. 43 in E flat ("*Mercury*"). 2 oboes, 2 horns, strings, to which a bassoon has been added as part of the *continuo*. It is not known why this work was called "Merkur" (Mercury) in the nineteenth century.

It might be said that Austrian composers *anno* 1770 wrote two kinds of symphonies. First, there were those "grand" ones with trumpets and timpani. Often one finds such works specifically listed in contemporary programmes, *e.g.* "Grosse Symphonie, mit Trompeten und Paucken". In Haydn's case, this mean C major and works such as Nos. 38 or 41 in this album. But the Austrians also cultivated another kind of work, a chamber symphony, with singing allegros. J. B. Vanhal was a specialist in this sort of symphony, which often began (unlike most of Haydn's) with a *cantabile* theme, *piano*, on an upbeat. This is not to say that chamber symphonies did not include stirring tuttis and many loud passages; but the listener will hear the difference at once between Mozart's chamber Symphony in A, K. 201 (or in B flat, K. 319) and the "Grosse Symphonie mit Trompeten und Paucken" which is the *Haffner Symphony*, K. 385. There is a similar difference between the *Mercury* Symphony, which is definitely of chamber proportions and sound, and the much more extrovert and louder No. 41. Actually, during the period under discussion, Haydn begins to merge the two kinds: not so much with trumpets and timpani (though we soon begin to encounter those instruments in keys other than C, *e.g.* No. 54 in G of 1774) but in overall style. You would not call No. 44 in E minor a chamber symphony: its scope, its language, its message are all too big in scale for that description.

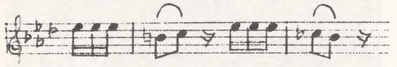
On the other hand, No. 43 is the Austrian chamber symphony *par excellence*. The *genre* was highly successful, and not only with Austrian monks and German princes. No. 43 figured in the *Musique du Roy* 1782 at the Court of Louis XVI. (No doubt it was Marie Antoinette who specially appreciated hearing this reminder of her happier and less troubled childhood . . .). The whole first theme is intensely lyric, in fact one of the longest of its kind that Haydn ever wrote; he almost loses himself in the slow-moving crochets. To balance this *embarras de richesse*, we have a long and vigorous passage with the usual marching quavers in the bass line and dancing violins in semiquavers; and yet the astute listener will note that this is not a *heavy* tutti. The orchestra is beautifully transparent, the horns providing a nice "cutting edge" to the texture. There is a great deal of material to



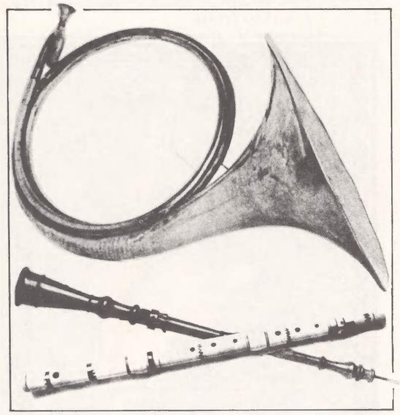
Fortepiano by Johann Schantz, believed to have belonged to Joseph Haydn.

balance this long, lyrical opening subject, but there is no real second subject; for what takes its place is simply a reworking of the principal theme. There is Haydn's beloved *fausse reprise*, which is one of the theatrical poses that somehow seem to be derived from the *opera buffa* – the careful cultivation of the unexpected. When the recapitulation finally appears, Haydn once again loses himself in a bemused contemplation of the first subject's lyrical extension.

This is altogether a Symphony in which Haydn frequently allows himself the unusual luxury of dwelling on a subject longer, perhaps, than the material would lead us to expect, and certainly longer than is his wont. (Haydn always had an impeccable sense of timing, and his music is almost never too long; indeed his self-discipline is almost monastic.) In the rhapsodic slow movement, the wind instruments are, of course, retained, as they always are in this period; but they are, as in No. 42's *Andantino*, used with great fastidiousness and very sparingly. The strings are muted, and this *Adagio*, like almost all these slow movements, has a strong sense of nostalgia which is very characteristic. Here Haydn gets monumentally sidetracked by a little phrase which goes



A large part of the development section is concerned with an extension of this phrase, which Haydn pushes to the point of obsession.



Wind instruments from Haydn's time. In Haydn's earlier symphonies, as a rule the strings were completed by two Oboes, a Flute and two Horns.

The *Menuetto* is another hit tune, marvellously kinetic and very Austrian. It simply could not have been composed by an Italian or an Englishman. Many years later, Haydn was talking to a Swedish colleague after the first public performance of the *Creation*. The conversation fell on Haydn's minuets, and the composer related how he had been given credit for inventing this kind of symphonic minuet; he warned the Swedish colleague not to take them too quickly; the Swede hummed a minuet, and Haydn said, "That's much too quick", and explained that the bass line would not be clear at that tempo. Of course we know that Haydn's minuets speeded up, reaching *allegro* in many of the Salomon Symphonies and *presto*, one-in-the-bar, in some of the late quartets. But in No. 43, we have a superb example of this sturdy, not-too-fast and not-too-slow minuet which was one of the hallmarks of Haydn's style. The Trio is particularly graceful, starting out in C minor but then going to B flat; the ambiguous feeling remains in the second part, too, which again begins in C minor but ends in E flat, the home key. The wind instruments are used with the same delicacy as in the slow movement, adding a touch of nasal colour (in the oboes) and an organ-like pedal point in the horns. Sparingly though they are used, every student of composition can learn from this Trio how to achieve a perfect balance, in *piano* context, between strings and wind instruments.

Haydn is not letting us forget that this is a chamber symphony, whose strength is in its grace: in the Finale, there is another long, *legato* subject, just as in the first movement. Haydn is now building symphonies around a central idea, and we shall observe several such ideas, each entirely different from the other, in the rest of the symphonies analyzed in this album. And just as the long singing theme of the first movement was balanced by a sturdy tutti, the same contrast obtains in the Finale. There is a long coda to this movement, and once again (the last time, to be sure), Haydn dwells long and lovingly on one of his lyrical passages. Time seems to stop, the note values get slower and slower, and finally everything dies away except for the first violin, which goes up to an enigmatic g flat. There follows one of Haydn's magnificent silences, and then the music plunges into a last tutti and the elegant chamber symphony is at an end.

Symphony No. 44 in E minor ("*Trauer*"/"*Mourning*"). Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns, strings, to which a bassoon has been added as part of the *continuo*. The name is said to come from Haydn, who expressed a desire to have the slow movement played at his funeral; perhaps the story is apocryphal, but the title, for once, is apt. It is one of the greatest of Haydn's *Sturm und Drang* works, a new kind of symphony which is neither a chamber work nor a grand one with trumpets and timpani. Here Haydn finally achieved the form he had sought so long, for the emotional world of the church sonata (see Symphonies 22 and 49 especially) was successfully transferred to the "normal" symphonic structure. Not quite normal, though, because Haydn shifts the weight, after the enormously powerful opening movement, to the slow movement but allows a breathing space by inserting the minuet in between. In overall balance, this Symphony is a miracle of judgement.

The first movement has the (for Haydn) unusual marking *Allegro con brio;* one is reminded of the great C minor Symphony No. 52, marked *Allegro assai con brio*. Both have another feature in common: the unison opening, which creates a sense of power and urgency. We will also encounter this unison beginning in Nos. 46, 51 and 56. In No. 44, Haydn divides up the first subject into two statements, which might be described: *a-b; a-c*. This double announcement of the principal theme is something we have heard in No. 39 and will hear again in No. 48. It gives us a chance to become familiar with the first four notes, which play a vital rôle throughout the movement. We hear them as the bass line of the transition to the dominant and suddenly they emerge in the violins simply as intervals of the fifth. They form the basis of what passes for the second subject and play a decisive part in the development section. It is interesting to see how Haydn increases the tension of this middle part. He uses a motif from the bridge-passage, with the characteristic rhythm

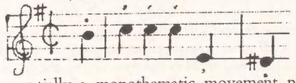
and this now "takes over" the development, growing more and more urgent, until Haydn compresses it to

backing it with a series of syncopations. The syncopations shift to semiquavers, and just when we think the music cannot stand any more tension, Haydn pushes the music into *fortissimo* (bar 98) and precipitates us – that is the only word – into the recapitulation, which here assumes an entirely new function: that of being an emotional necessity, a release from the tension of the development section. Instead of the double announcement of the main subject, Haydn compresses them into one and adds a passage of great effectiveness just after the *subito pp* (bar 114): the lower strings break from the semibreve into quavers, and though *pp*, what relentless quavers they are! And what a marvellously gaunt sound the oboes have when they enter in this *pp* context: the whole passage has something vaguely Gluckian about it, a classical beauty which is doubly effective flanked, as it is, by the most turbulent music Haydn had ever written hitherto. There is also a coda, introduced by a *fermata:* Haydn has reserved his greatest effect with the main theme till now, to use it canonically with itself.

In a way that canonic passage is a hint of things to come: for the *Menuetto* is a fantastic piece of contrapuntal prestidigitation: a strict "Canone in Diapason" (Haydn's marking) between the top and bottom line at the interval of one bar. Nothing could more effectively follow the tension of the first movement. The Minuet releases the

tension but is so interesting that the mood is not broken; it is a *tour-de-force* not only contrapuntally but also in overall timing. Often in Haydn's earlier symphonies in minor keys, such as Nos. 26 or 39, the Trio was an anticlimax. Not so in No. 44. Having lowered the tension, Haydn has another and equally effective device for the Trio: extreme lyricism. He has set the stage well: the strings are marked *pp*, and as students of Haydn know, every exaggerated dynamic mark (*pp* or *ff*) in his scores has some structural or emotional function: here it draws violent attention to the sudden shift into E major, which is heavenly release after the sombre E minor up to now, and it also draws attention to the beautiful *legato* lines of the strings. But great is our astonishment to find the first horn (which is in E; the second is in G) joining the first violins with the melody and soaring up to sounding e^2, the top of its *tessitura*. The second part of the Trio starts with off-beat *forzati* and suddenly breaks into *ff*. The violent dynamic contrasts of this Trio are typical of Haydn's new style. The older "terraced" dynamics of the baroque period will not do for the vastly increased emotions of Haydn's language. This is especially true of the lovely *Adagio*, like the Trio, in E major, and with the muted strings that we have now come to expect. And as in the other slow movements, the wind instruments are very sparingly used; but when they do enter at bar 16, it is with a *crescendo* that surges up to a *forte* only to repeat the effect immediately afterwards. Haydn was not enamoured of the Mannheim school's exaggerated dynamic marks. He is most fastidious about using *crescendi* and saves them for such moments as these. We have noted that Haydn likes to give us hints of things to come. The Trio in E major foretold that key for the slow movement. And now, in the recapitulation of the *Adagio*, what do we find but the horn once again soaring up to top e^2.

The Finale carries things further than even the first movement would lead us to expect. The unison opening is strongly, evenly violently rhythmic, with those inserted silences that increase the tension so effectively. Just as in the first movement, the first seven notes of the Finale prove to be essential, and so does another phrase from the first subject



This is essentially a monothematic movement pitched at an emotional level higher than anything since the Finale of Symphony No. 29 (but the emotional quality was different then). It is in abbreviated sonata form, and the development section rises to a wild pitch of excitement through a long, slowly-rising sequence built upon the leading motif of the first subject, this being constantly repeated until the tension is relieved by the music hurling itself into a series of semiquavers. The Symphony as a whole was undoubtedly Haydn's greatest achievement in the *genre* up to now, and is only equalled by the famous *Farewell* Symphony, an equally potent and moving *tour-de-force*. Together with the great C minor piano Sonata (No. 33 in the Universal Edition's new chronological list) and the Opus 20 Quartets, they revolutionized the history of music. The great period of the Viennese classical style has begun, and it is no exaggeration to say that music was never the same again.

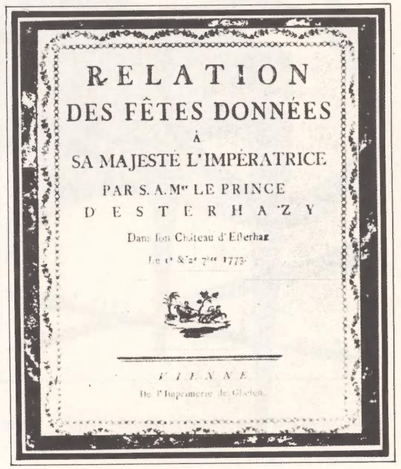
Symphony No. 45 in F sharp minor ("*Farewell*"). Scoring: 2 oboes, bassoon, 2 horns, strings (four violins in the last part of the Finale). Chronologically, this is probably the last Symphony in a minor key that Haydn was to write for many years (we should recall that Nos. 49 and 52, though numerically later, were composed in 1768 and *c.* 1771-3; so it is just possible that No. 52 was composed later). In fact it was to be a full decade before he turned to the minor in a symphony (No. 78, 1782), and by then Haydn's values, and his attitude towards the minor, had changed radically. Like No. 26 – a Symphony for Eastertime – No. 45 had a purpose, which explains its extraordinary form, if not entirely its extraordinary content. Briefly, the story as found in the authentic biographies is as follows. The Prince, so attracted to Eszterháza, that splendid castle erected on a wild and remote Hungarian marsh, tarried there longer and longer each year. The musicians, not being allowed (with the exception of Haydn) to have their families with them, were restless after a long season and naturally wished to rejoin their wives and children. Towards the end of the 1772 season, the musicians became desperate and went to their beloved *Capellmeister* for help. The result was the *Farewell* Symphony, in which the regular *Presto* Finale was broken off and a long *Adagio* began. During the course of this movement, one player after another blew out his candle and departed, leaving at the end two violins, Tomasini and Haydn himself. As they were about to leave, the Prince, having grasped the idea, is supposed to have said: "Well, if they all leave, we might as well leave, too." And the whole court departed the next day.

Apart from the obvious programmatic connotations, No. 45 is a fascinating and highly original piece of music: everything about it is original; the key (a great rarity), and the fact that the blacksmith at Eszterháza had to construct new crooks for the horns in F sharp (in the Minuet), since none existed on the usual hand-horn of the period; and the formal scheme not only of the Finale but of the whole work. With this Symphony he established a tonal precedent to which he would later revert when composing symphonies in the minor: the dispersal of the tonic minor by the relative major and the tonic major:

First movement:	F sharp minor
Second movement:	A major
Third movement:	F sharp major
Finale:	F sharp minor (*Presto*)
	A major (*Adagio*, part one)
	F sharp major (*Adagio*, part two, from bar 68)

Here we see Haydn consciously trying to avoid the tonal concentration of such works as No. 49 (all except the Trio in F minor) and 44 (which has only E minor and E major).

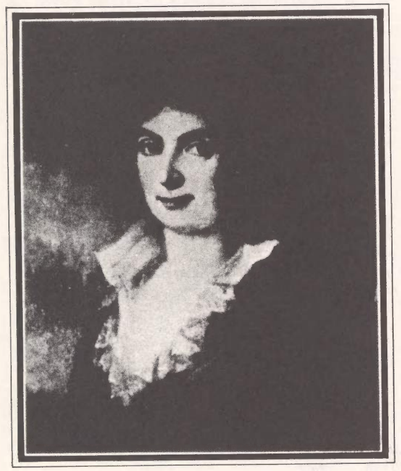
Above: *The Empress Maria Theresa in* 1770. *Engraving by Jacob Schmutzer after de Greux.*
Below: *Commemorative description of the visit of Maria Theresa to Eszterháza* (1773).


RELATION
DES FÊTES DONNÉES
À
SA MAJESTÉ L'IMPÉRATRICE
PAR S. A. Mgr LE PRINCE
D E S T E R H A Z Y
Dans son Château d'Estherhaz
VIENNE

Formally, the first movement is startlingly original, possibly the most "far-out" sonata form movement of Haydn's whole career. The horns are crooked in A and E, and by manipulating these two instruments, Haydn can achieve F sharp minor chords (*e.g.* f sharp-a or g sharp-b) in pure intonation. The first subject strides down the F sharp minor triad and is provided with a strangely unsettling accompaniment in syncopated notes (second violin) every time it appears, in whatever key and at whatever dynamic level. Occasionally the syncopations are taken out of context, as shortly before each double bar (56ff. and 195ff.) when they are given to the first violins: this ominous passage, where the second oboe and lower strings move in *legato* crotchets, is almost a call to the barricades. What can Prince Esterházy have thought of this dangerously violent music? And why did Haydn never touch the minor key in a symphony for the next ten years?

Prince Esterházy was a trained and performing musician: he will have heard the very odd sound of this movement; and he will have noted that there is no second subject (not unusual in Haydn); but in the middle of the development section, there is a *fermata* after a half close in F sharp major, following a repetition of that syncopated passage with the *legato* crotchets underneath; then the second subject appears *in D major*. It never occurs again, and Haydn lingers over it, relishing its beautiful melodic arch. Afterwards, what seems to be the recapitulation sets in; but it is in its way a new kind of false reprise, in that it starts out like a *fausse reprise* and then turns out to be the real, though false, recapitulation: false because Haydn simply goes on developing the music. This is complete freedom of form, and freedom of musical language, too, on an unprecedented scale. Nothing like it occurs in the Viennese classical school before Beethoven. But though all the rules of this potent *Allegro assai* are broken, the movement has a unity and power undreamt of in Haydn even a few years before.

Maria Wilhelmine, Countess von Thun (1744-1800), *one of the leading personalities of the musical salons in Vienna.*



The languid, hauntingly beautiful *Adagio* is in the relative major, with muted violins. As usual, the wind instruments are employed with monkish fastidiousness: in the first section, up to the double bar, the oboes play only in eleven of the seventy-six bars, the horns not at all. As the Symphony progresses, we shall take note of Haydn's endeavour to make the keys more ambivalent, particularly with regard to major and minor. When the music reaches the dominant, E major, the theme (a derivation of the main subject, with its grace notes) immediately repeats itself, and continues in, E minor; and the same procedure obtains in the recapitulation, of course in A major and minor. Whereas in the middle of the development this same section turns up in C sharp minor and *remains* in C sharp minor (bars 110ff.). The lead-back to the recapitulation is with the first violins all by themselves, a forlorn little cadence; and it is not until the recapitulation itself, at bar 127, that the horns enter for the first time in this *Adagio*, marked *pp* (a difficult entry, "cold", as they say in horn language, meaning with no preparation whatever). Towards the end of the recapitulation, Haydn develops a passage previously heard in the exposition at bars 58ff. In both places, listeners without a score can hear where the passage comes, because it follows a *fermata*, or pause, on a diminished chord. In the second of its statements, Haydn extends the music, modulating in slow motion to what would be, strictly speaking, B sharp minor, the complicated notation of which Haydn avoids by spelling the chord partly in its enharmonic equivalent, C minor: the violins have, correctly, d sharp and b sharp respectively, but the violas and bass line have g natural (=the notation in C minor) rather than the correct f double sharp. It is an extraordinary modulation, so unusual that in the autograph Haydn puts a line over the second violin when it plays first b sharp and then immediately afterwards c natural (the same note). This is not the only time that Haydn writes little notes to himself (or the copyist?) in the autograph: in the first movement, there is another very unexpected and rather *outré* modulation, in the middle of which (bar 150) Haydn writes "Sapienti pauca", a cryptic remark that he many years later repeated after what appears to have been a meagre dinner with the Storace family in London. In No. 45, "Sapienti pauca" can also be a warning to the copyist to watch the number of bars (since the pattern of syncopated notes repeats itself here for sixteen bars).

The *Menuet* is in F sharp major, but by bar three the basses have a d natural which makes the ensuing half close on C sharp sound as if we were going into F sharp minor. The same unsettling syncopations that we noted in the first movement also appear in the Minuet, which ends, in each section, with a curious little phrase, just for the violins, marked *pp*. The Trio is based upon a variant of an old Gregorian melody sung in Holy Week, *Incipit lamentatio*: the *Lamentations of the Prophet Jeremiah*. Haydn had used this agelessly beautiful tune in a wind band *Divertimento* of 1760 for Count Morzin's *Tafelmusik* (what will the Count have thought of *that* idea?), and also as the basis for the *Lamentatione* Symphony No. 26's slow movement. What did Prince Esterházy imagine he was hearing, in this Symphony, by the time this Trio emerged with the Maundy Thursday dirge, spruced up and given to the horns?

The Finale, a *Presto* in barred C, begins in the lean texture and with the rather nervous manner of a typical Haydnesque *Sturm und Drang* conclusion. It must have sounded forbidding to many people; the *Mercure de France*, reviewing it on 24 April 1784, found it "un morceau bruyant & sans caractère". There are some curious details. Just before the end of the first double bar, the first violins have a passage in which they switch back and forth between open a-string and fingered e-string, and once again this is very odd-sounding, almost the rattling of the skeletons in a *Totentanz:* many years later Haydn was to create another very strange sound, when the violins play half the slow movement of Symphony No. 97 near the bridge (*sul ponticello*). When we reach the point where the movement ought to conclude, Haydn starts to modulate, following yet another of those queer syncopated sections (bars 127ff.). The music suddenly ends on a half-close, on unison C sharp. There is a pause, and to our astonishment an *Adagio* begins. The bassoon, which was not mentioned in the autograph before, is given its own line, and there are four violins. We, of course, know what is going to happen, and so we may study Haydn's preparation with care. The slow movement has the same richly *cantabile* lines that we have come to expect of Haydn *de anno* 1772, and for a while everything proceeds normally. When the dominant (E major) appears, we note that the oboes and the *second* horn have an elaborate solo section, at the end of which oboe I and horn II blow out their candles, take their instruments and leave. (We must remember that in those days, the orchestras played standing.) There then occurs a kind of middle section and a return to the tonic and the main subject. The bassoon emerges from his servile position as part of the *basso continuo*, has a little solo, and leaves. The wind band solo that announced the departure of oboe I and horn II is now repeated, in the tonic, for oboe II and horn I (in A; horn II was in E; even such details are meticulously worked out to serve the structure), after which they leave. We begin to see, by this time, that each departing instrument displays his wares, so to speak, before departing. Up to this point, we have had a regular tripartite slow movement, at least formally. But

now a gradual shift begins. It is announced by a long and very elaborate solo for the stepchild of the orchestra, the *Violone* (as it was then called) or *Contrabasso* (as we call it now). Haydn always had a weak spot for this unwieldy "great viola" (the literal translation of "violone"), and even composed a concerto for it, alas lost, and many delightful solo sections in earlier symphonies. We are so engrossed by this huge solo in triplets – technically difficult to keep in tune, even today with our refined "Koussevitsky" method – that we scarcely realize that the whole tonal basis of the movement has pivoted from the relative major (A) to the tonic major (F sharp), the arrival of which is marked by the contrabasso's departure. Now there are just the four violins, violas and cellos left, and they start playing the music of the *Adagio* all over again, in F sharp. A great stillness seems to settle on this lonely and beautiful music: the cello leaves, then the tutti violins, then the viola. Almost imperceptibly, the orchestra has dwindled away to *Capellmeister* Haydn and *Conzertmeister* Tomasini, and finally they, too, have the last, sad little solo, end *pianissimo* and *staccato*, blow out their candles and leave.

Felix Mendelssohn conducted this Symphony at one of his "historical" Gewandhaus concerts in Leipzig, on 22 February 1838. People had almost forgotten this great *Symphonie in Fis-moll*, with which the concert ended; and Mendelssohn had the musicians blow out their candles and leave, just as at that first occasion on the icy marshes of Eszterháza. The public at the Gewandhaus, wrote Mendelssohn to his sister shortly afterwards, was "jubilant". Then he added, obviously profoundly moved by the work, "it is a curiously melancholic little piece" ("Est ist ein curios melancholisches Stückchen").

Symphony No. 46 in B. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns, strings, to which a bassoon has been added as part of the *continuo*.

In the eighteenth century, symphonies in F sharp minor were as good as non-existent apart from Haydn's No. 45; B major symphonies were rare, too, because of intonation problems, but they did exist. Haydn may have heard G. M. Monn's B major Symphony, which was played in Vienna when Haydn was a choir-boy at the Cathedral. Our No. 46 is the composer's only Symphony in this remote key, though he wrote a piano Sonata in B which is lost.

By this time, we know at once that the four-note unison opening is destined for contrapuntal development. Haydn is very clever in showing us the theme's possibilities. He takes the first three notes and combines them with a kind of Fuxian countersubject: this takes place just before the bridge-passage. Then, at the beginning of the development, the four notes are combined with themselves canonically, as was done with the similar subject in No. 44. There is the by now standard *fausse reprise*, here on a large scale. At the real recapitulation, Haydn finally presents us with the theme in full contrapuntal dress: used with itself canonically and with the Fuxian countersubject noted earlier. It is a very terse movement and rather dark-hued.

The *Poco Adagio* is a kind of sophisticated *siciliano*, which Haydn had used so beautifully in an aria from *Le pescatrici* two years earlier. Here, the music is in the tonic minor, and graced with string passages marked *staccato assai*. It has a definite air of Italy, and this is something which we shall often encounter in Haydn's music: astonishing that Haydn could so closely capture the air of a country he had never seen (though he had a pretty Italian mistress in the 1780s). But though the gently sad atmosphere is south-of-the-Alps, the refined orchestration is Eszterháza. Haydn puts the horns in D, and when he gets to the relative major, he can support the melody with the horns and bass line (just before the first double bar), a delightful orchestral innovation.

The *Menuet*, a slowish and graceful movement, is marked by "sighing" sequences, an old baroque device of proceeding upwards or (usually) downwards as a pattern like this:

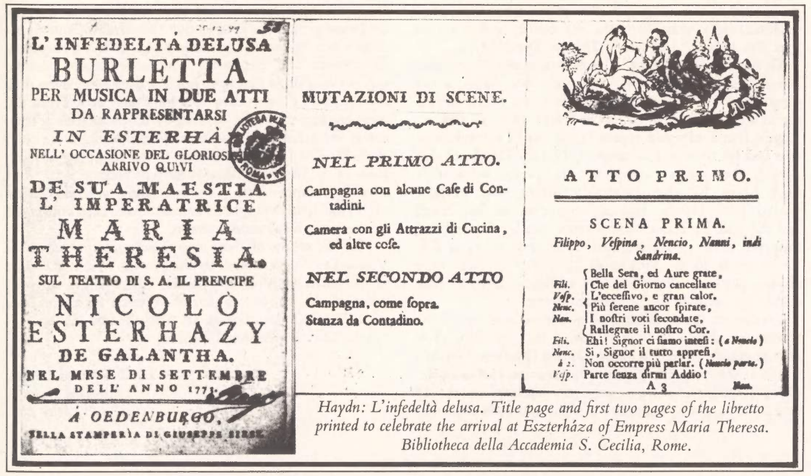
In elegant symmetry the music starts by a series of progressions up the "sighing" pattern and finishes down the "sighing" pattern (an extract of the latter is just quoted above). The Trio is quite unprecedented, being *durchkomponiert* (though with the double bars) and of a strangely Balkan flavour. It starts as if it were going from B minor to D major, changes its mind, and then changes it back – to D major. The second part ends in B minor, but with very odd and rather ominous harmonic and dynamic contrasts.

The *Finale* is marked "Presto e scherzando". It opens in two-part texture, with just the violins. It is a witty, "joking" (as the title implies) movement, with a flair for the grotesque. The use of silence is remarkable here, adding a whole series of surprising twists to the music. But nothing prepares us for the really bizarre, but also very touching, effect that Haydn has in store for us in the second half. The music comes to a stop on a half-close in the dominant, followed by a *fermata*, and then the *Menuet* begins again, and Haydn lets the whole dance movement (without repeats) unfold before he cuts it off to return to the *Finale's* main subject. This, too, peters out in the first violins, and the music stops dead with two whole bars of rests. Then, with a very comical effect, the horns sound a low pedal point and the theme comes in once again as a farewell. It is a brilliantly original movement, almost a scene out of the *commedia dell'arte*, with Columbine and Harlequin enacting some kind of pantomime in front of us, basically very funny but with queer overtones.

Symphony No. 47 in G. Scoring: 2 oboes, bassoon (only mentioned in the slow movement), 2 horns, strings.

We have noted that there is a serious, even scholarly side to Haydn, which manifests itself particularly in the Opus 20 *Sun* Quartets of 1772, with their brilliant fugal finales. Even the little third movement of Symphony No. 47 is a palindromic "Menuet al rovescio" and "Trio al rovescio". We have also seen that these symphonies under discussion are frequently very serious and weighty, and at least two, Nos. 44 and 45, are major stylistic milestones in Haydn's career. It seems that part of the reason for this change in style, this increased learnedness, and the deliberate cultivation of older contrapuntal forms, arose out of a German Press campaign against Haydn which has been all but forgotten nowadays. Then, it raged for several years. We first learned of this campaign from a passage in the memoirs of William Parke, an oboist in the King's Band who knew Haydn when the composer was in England in the 1790s. Parke has this to say about Haydn: "His transcendant genius soon enabled him to soar high above all his competitors; and, as envy seldom fails to pursue merit, the German masters became so jealous of his rising fame, that they entered into a kind of combination in order to decry his compositions. Some went so far as even to write pamphlets against his works, complaining of them as wild, flighty . . . and as tending to introduce new musical doctrines . . .". What were all these pamphlets and attacks? It has turned out that some of these articles are so rare that they have survived only in one single copy, for instance the devastating little booklet (published much later but in the same anti-Haydn tone) entitled "Portfeuille für Musikliebhaber" which seems to have survived in only one copy, in the library of Göttweig Abbey.

Haydn's instrumental compositions circulated to Germany in the 1760s, partly by way of handwritten copies and partly through the French prints. The North Germans soon began to take violent exception to Haydn's style. They were particularly annoyed by the minuets and slow movements in which the violins played the melody in octaves. "If these minuets in octaves are for everyone", writes a critic, "remains to be seen. They are good fun, but you might easily get the idea that you were hearing a father and son begging and yammering in octaves, and that's a bad object for musical imitation." Haydn got into a book entitled "Introduction to a musical library". The Hamburg journal *Unterhaltungen* of 1769, reviewing the book, wrote: "Haydn's name should have been omitted; in his symphonies alone he can be tolerated for some excellent ideas, but not for his taste or thoroughness. Piano works or – God forbid – trios and quartets by him – that's what really bad music means." The next year, 1770, we find a Leipzig critic writing about Haydn's Symphony No. 28: "This Symphony has been put into bearable form not long ago by one of our composers and the excrescences removed; the last movement in six-eight time has been left out of the print altogether; it would have been better to have omitted the silly trio, together with the minuet." This was a very Balkan-sounding trio. The same critic was furious at Haydn's dividing the melody of the second movement in Symphony No. 29 between first and second violins, and he goes on about one of Haydn's fugues: "if anyone thinks that thing is a fugue, he's at liberty to do so." On the whole, the Germans objected to all the typically


L'INFEDELTÀ DELUSA
BURLETTA
PER MUSICA IN DUE ATTI
DA RAPPRESENTARSI
IN ESTERHÁ
NELL' OCCASIONE DEL GLORIOSO ARRIVO QUIVI
DE SUA MAESTÀ
L' IMPERATRICE
MARIA
THERESIA.
SUL TEATRO DI S. A. IL PRENCIPE
NICOLÒ
ESTERHAZY
DE GALANTHA.
NEL MESE DI SETTEMBRE
DELL' ANNO 1773.
A OEDENBURGO,
NELLA STAMPERÌA DI GIUSEPPE SIEGL.

MUTAZIONI DI SCENE.

NEL PRIMO ATTO.

Campagna con alcune Case di Contadini.

Camera con gli Attrazzi di Cucina, ed altre cose.

NEL SECONDO ATTO

Campagna, come sopra.

Stanza da Contadino.

ATTO PRIMO.

SCENA PRIMA.

Filippo, Vespina, Nencio, Nanni, indi Sandrina.

Fil. Bella Sera, ed Aure grate,
Vesp. Che del Giorno cancellate
Nenc. L'eccessivo, e gran calor.
Nan. Più ferene ancor spirate,
I nostri voti fecondate,
Rallegrate il nostro Cor.
Fil. Ehi! Signor ci siamo intesi: (a Nencio)
Nenc. Sì, Signor il tutto apprendi,
& c. Non occorre più parlar. (Nencio parte.)
Vesp. Parte senza dirmi Addio!

A 3

Haydn: L'infedeltà delusa. Title page and first two pages of the libretto printed to celebrate the arrival at Eszterháza of Empress Maria Theresa. Bibliotheca della Accademia S. Cecilia, Rome.

Austrian side to Haydn: his sense of humour, his exotic excursions into Balkan and Gypsy folk-songs, his sudden change from serious to comical.

Haydn was not a man to get into a literary argument in German periodicals, but he did answer his critics a year later, in his own way: with the Opus 20 Quartets and with all these magnificently serious (though also at times flippant) symphonies at present under examination —in short, with a whole series of works which were so impressive *in toto*, and also so learned, that (if we may misquote Miss Nancy Mitford for a moment), after this a great silence descended on the periodicals of Germany, as least as far as Haydn's being a frivolous composer.

One of the admirers of No. 47 was Mozart. He jotted down its theme, together with those of two other Haydn symphonies, which he planned to give in his Mehlgrube concerts, on a little slip of paper which is now owned by the Historical Society of Philadelphia. What Mozart probably found irresistible is the beginning of the Symphony, with its marching horns. The march rhythm is added to, instrument by instrument, so that the theme grows layer by layer. When we arrive at the second subject we find the greatest possible contrast, a stalking bass in crotchets, chattering triplets in the violins and then a lean oboe line on the top. All this is not like the usual Haydn symphony of this period, where the seond subject, as we have seen, is often non-existent. The development secton grows out of the march theme and becomes gradually more serious, even ominous. The climax of this move from light to dark is the recapitulation itself, where the entire theme is put into the tonic minor. The build-up of the march now sounds menacing and sinister; but the block of oboes and horns that masses itself over the strings lingers on a moment, and suddenly in an instant the second subject comes in, and the sun is out from behind the clouds.

The second movement was an old favourite of Dr. Burney, who called the theme an "old organ point", and Haydn stresses the point by requiring a bassoon to double the bass line throughout. Connoisseurs—and north German critics—will have noticed, and relished, that in this delicate variation movement, *Un poco adagio, cantabile*, the theme is constructed in double counterpoint at the octave so that the bottom and top lines can be reversed.

The Minuet and Trio are also constructed with great skill. The players read their music twice for ten bars, up to the double bar, and then they read it twice backwards, arriving at the beginning. The same applies to the Trio. Haydn has taken great pains so that the orchestration helps one to hear the music when it is played in reverse.

The theme of the racy Finale starts out on a chord without the tonic root, and this scheme gives a strongly anacrustic push to the *piano* section which is not resolved until the *forte*. Another quality of this Finale which appears when we arrive at the dominant is its Balkan snap. Haydn was always very attracted to Gypsy music, and these dashing grace notes and the syncopated inner parts are Romany legacies. In one of Opus 20 Quartets, we find a "Menuet alla Zingarese", and later there is the famous "Gypsy Rondo" from the late piano Trio in G. Of course, these Gypsy touches are exotic excursions, but they add a sharpness to Haydn's language which is very much a part of the great heritage of the Austro-Hungarian empire.

Symphony No. 48 in C ("*Maria Theresia*"). Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns in C *alto* and F, (timpani?) and strings, to which a bassoon has been added as part of the *continuo*.

It was supposed that this brilliant, nervous Symphony had been composed and performed by Haydn to honour the visit of the Empress Maria Theresa to Eszterháza Castle at the beginning of September 1773. The visit was a great success, particularly for Haydn. The Empress was so delighted with the marionette opera *Philemon und Baucis* that five years later she invited the whole marionette troup to Schönbrunn Castle. And Haydn's new opera, *L'infedeltà delusa*, was also a great success with Her Majesty, who afterwards went round Vienna saying, "If I want to hear good opera, I must go to Eszterháza". We know, because the visit was reported in great detail in contemporary newspapers, that Haydn and his orchestra were assembled one of those days at a beautiful Chinese pavilion on the Castle grounds, and that the Empress was taken there to hear a new symphony by Prince Esterházy's *Capellmeister*. Afterwards Prince Nicolaus introduced Haydn to the Empress and they reminisced about the time when Haydn, as a choir-boy, had been caught with some of his playmates on the scaffolding of Schönbrunn Castle and the Empress had had him thrashed. "That thrashing", said the Empress, "bore good fruit", a mixed metaphor that will have been a highpoint in Haydn's life.

It has always been presumed that Symphony No. 48 was the one the Empress heard in that Chinese Pavilion. Our knowledge of the Symphony, textually, has been based primarily on the parts in the Esterházy Archives. It now develops that these parts are absolutely not authentic. Considering that the Esterházy Archives are the sanctuary for much of Haydn's music before 1790, that statement requires a little explanation. Six years after the Empress and her entourage left Eszterháza, there was a dreadful fire at the Castle. It started when a stove in the ball room became overheated and exploded. In the ensuing conflagration, the Theatre burned up completely, and with it all the priceless instruments and the entire stock of Haydn's scores and parts, except for some autographs of his operas which happened to be in his own quarters and were thus saved for posterity. But all the orchestral materials of his symphonies composed up to 1779, and that means some seventy works, were destroyed. Later Haydn did a very sensible thing. He went to Vienna and visited some professional copyists who had been pirating his music for twenty years with great financial gain to themselves and none to Haydn. The composer bought a big collection of his earlier symphonies so that he could have the music at Eszterháza, and what he bought was parts, much more useful to him than the scores. Among his acquisitions was the copy of Symphony No. 48, with the trumpets doubling the horns in the fast movements and a kettledrum part which appears in no other known source. One ought to add that there exist at least ten versions of trumpet and timpani parts to this Symphony, and it would seem that all are spurious.

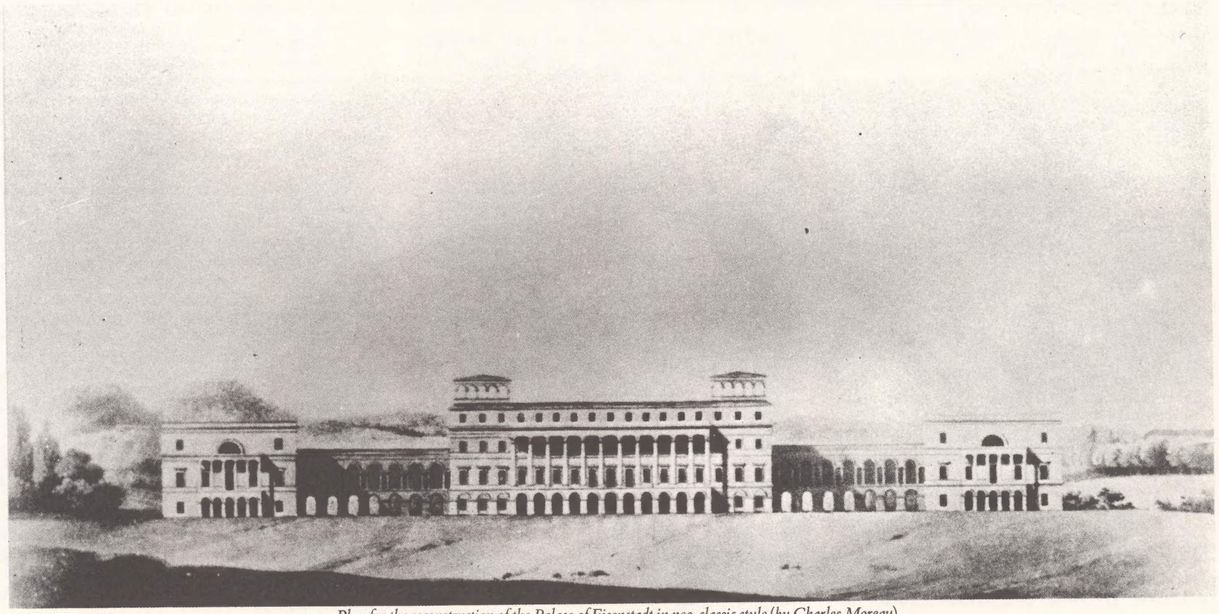
If this evidence is all negative, the authentic Joseph Elssler parts, mentioned above, are very positive. The two sensational facts of this authentic manuscript are (1) its date of 1769 and (2) the scoring, for oboes, horns in C *alto* and F, and strings. This means, as far as point one is concerned, that the Symphony cannot have been composed in honour of the Empress's visit in 1773. There is no reason why Haydn could not have taken the work off the shelf and performed it for the Empress. But she had her own orchestra in Vienna, and it is more than likely that between the years 1769 and 1773 she will have heard the Symphony. It is also against the spirit of the times for Haydn to have dusted off an old Symphony to honour his Queen and Empress. But if he composed a new work for her, which is it? We seem to have the answer. A little section of the prologue to *Philemon und Baucis* has survived in Haydn's autograph, and there is written evidence that they really did give the prologue and the opera itself in Maria Theresa's honour at the Eszterháza puppet theatre. This little fragment was written on some spare sheets which belonged to the autograph of Symphony No. 50. And No. 50, a big work with high horns, trumpets and timpani, is clearly dated 1773 on the autograph. It must have been composed simultaneously with *Philemon und Baucis*, and it seems that No. 50 is the real *Maria Theresia* Symphony.

To return to the "new" Czech manuscript of the false *Maria Theresia* Symphony, we note that there is no timpani part. Now in itself this does not mean much, for as we have seen in connection with Nos. 38 and 41, Haydn frequently sold copies of his works to orchestras that had no trumpets or timpani. But for Haydn of this period, C major in a symphonic or operatic work with high horns (C *alto*) inevitably meant that timpani played too. Haydn had no trumpets in his band, and he had to recruit them from nearby Oedenburg (Sopron) if he needed trumpets at Eszterháza, as he did, for example, in the autumn of 1773. But timpani were always available. Probably the authentic timpani part to No. 48 perished in the Eszterháza fire.

Leaving all these philological questions, it is interesting to observe that with its new dating of 1769, No. 48 is almost exactly parallel with the Opus 9 Quartets. Haydn's music at this period is brilliant but uneven. Just as in the Opus 9 Quartets, there is only one masterpiece, the D minor, so in the Symphonies of 1768 and 1769 there are only two masterpieces, this one and the great *Sinfonia La Passione* No. 49. People got the name of our Symphony wrong but the message right. It is a Symphony for Queens and Emperors, with a brilliance, panache and nervous drive that have not lost their force even after the interval of more than two hundred years. From the tense excitement of the opening (with those reeling horn parts, which have to be heard to be believed), to the quiet intensity of its slow movement, to the stamping, driving force of its *Menuet* (with magnificent fanfares, and what a strange, sombre Trio!), to the rushing *perpetuum mobile* of its Finale, this Symphony seems to have been composed in one great inspirational sweep.

The full scores of these symphonies are published by Verlag Doblinger, edited by the present writer. Reprints in the form of miniature scores, either singly or with notes on the sources, as part of volumes three and four of all Haydn's symphonies, are published by the Philharmonia Edition (Universal Edition).

H. C. Robbins Landon,
Buggiano Castello,
May 1972.



Plan for the reconstruction of the Palace of Eisenstadt in neo-classic style (by Charles Moreau).

Recorded at St Bonifatius Kirche, Marl.
Producer: James Mallinson
Engineer: Colin Moorfoot

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Box Top and booklet cover: EMPEROR FRANZ I STEPHAN (1708-1765) and EMPRESS MARIA THERESA (1717-1780). Oil painting by Kobler. The Malvisi Archives.

Haydn: The Symphonies (49–56)
The Philharmonia Hungarica conducted by
Antal Dorati

SIDE ONE

SYMPHONY No. 49 in F minor "La Passione"

1. Adagio (10:20)
2. Allegro di molto (4:30)
3. Menuet e trio (5:45)
4. FINALE – Presto (3:20)

SIDE TWO

SYMPHONY No. 50 in C major

1. Adagio e maestoso (4:20)
2. Andante moderato (4:25)
3. Menuet e trio (5:50)
4. FINALE – Presto (3:40)

SIDE THREE

SYMPHONY No. 51 in B flat major

1. Vivace (6:40)
2. Adagio (7:30)
3. Menuetto e trios (3:55)
4. FINALE – Allegro (4:25)

SIDE FOUR

SYMPHONY No. 52 in C minor

1. Allegro assai con brio (7:15)
2. Andante (6:35)
3. Menuetto e trio - Allegretto (4:35)
4. FINALE – Presto (3:45)

SIDE FIVE

SYMPHONY No. 53 in D major "L'Impériale"

1. Largo maestoso - Vivace (7:40)
2. Andante (6:30)
3. Menuetto e trio (4:50)
4. FINALE – Presto (4:00)

SIDE SIX

SYMPHONY No. 54 in G major

1. Adagio maestoso - Presto (5:50)
2. Adagio assai (11:00)
3. Menuet e trio - Allegretto (4:40)
4. FINALE – Presto (5:30)

SIDE SEVEN

SYMPHONY No. 55 in E flat major "Der Schulmeister"

1. Allegro di molto (5:10)
2. Adagio, ma semplicemente (7:45)
3. Menuetto e trio (5:20)
4. FINALE – Presto (4:15)

SIDE EIGHT

SYMPHONY No. 56 in C major

1. Allegro di molto (6:05)
2. Adagio (8:25)
3. Menuet e trio (7:15)
4. FINALE – Prestissimo (3:45)

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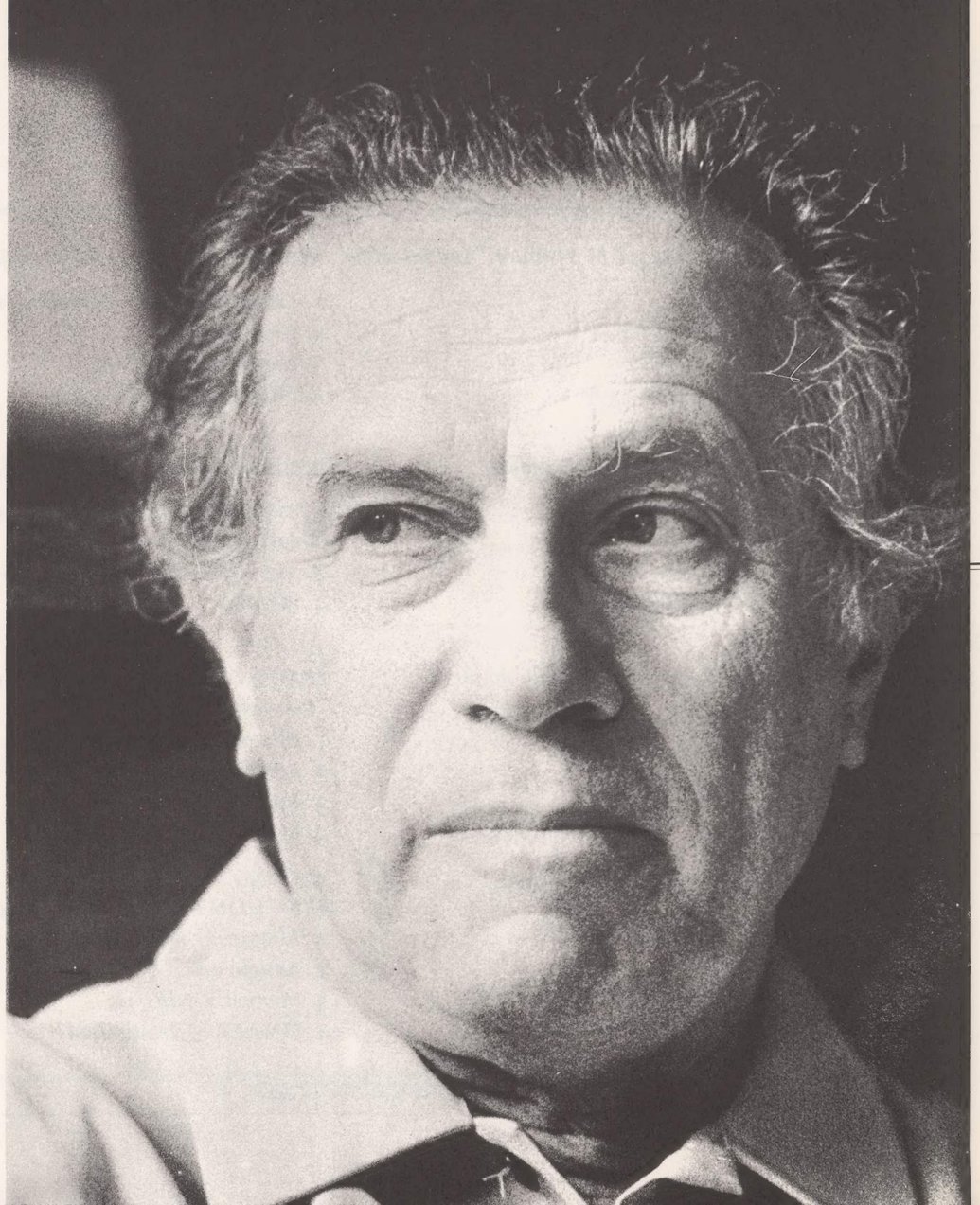


Antal Dorati

Antal Dorati

Antal Dorati was born in Budapest in 1906, and his parents, both musicians, recognised his talents and sent him at the age of fourteen to the Academy of Music in Budapest. His teachers were Zoltan Kodály, Béla Bartók and Leo Weiner. He graduated at eighteen as composer, pianist and conductor, and was the youngest person in the history of the Academy to receive a degree.

Soon after, he was appointed conductor of the Royal Opera House in Budapest, where he worked for four years. In 1928 he went to Dresden as the assistant of Fritz Busch. Between 1928 and 1933 he was principal conductor of the Opera House in Munster, at the same time appearing as guest conductor at several other Opera Houses in Germany, and with orchestras in many major musical centres.

In 1934 he joined the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo, and seven years later was appointed Musical Director of the Ballet Theatre. Meanwhile in 1937 he made his American debut as a symphonic conductor at an all-Beethoven concert with the National Symphony Orchestra of Washington D.C., and during 1939–40 made an extensive tour of Australia. Returning to the States, Dorati became Director of the New Opera Company in New York.

In 1945 he left the Ballet Theatre and was charged with the organisation of the Dallas Symphony Orchestra, and in 1949 he became Musical Director of the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra, and during his eleven years with them, he was responsible for numerous commissions, world premieres, and American premieres of important works.

From 1963 to 1966 Antal Dorati was Chief Conductor to the BBC Symphony Orchestra, and took the orchestra on a tour of Switzerland in October 1964, and the United States in the Spring of 1965. He has also made a return to opera, and conducts guest performances at Covent Garden, London, the Wiener Staatsoper, the Opera House, Rome, the Hamburg Opera and Maggio Musicale in Florence. He is now principal conductor of the Stockholm Philharmonic Orchestra and with him the orchestra made its first tour of the United States in 1968 with such success that a return tour was arranged for 1970. In October 1970, Antal Dorati was appointed chief conductor of the National Symphony Orchestra, Washington D.C., in addition to his commitments with the Stockholm orchestra.

When the Philharmonia Hungarica was formed in Vienna in 1957, from refugee musicians who had fled Hungary during the 1956 revolution, Antal Dorati was one of the orchestra's first conductors. He made several recordings with them during this period, so that the London project of recording the complete Haydn symphonies with Dorati and the Philharmonia Hungarica represents the renewal of a long-standing association.

Philharmonia Hungarica

Among the hundreds of thousands of refugees who left their home country during the Hungarian Revolution in the late Autumn of 1956 were many musicians, who set out for the free world with their instruments as their only possessions. It was yet another instance of the tragic tradition of the Hungarian history of culture, which, over two decades ago, Béla Bartók summed up in these poignant words: ". . . One must get away from here, no matter where to . . .".

From among these exiled musicians, who, almost without exception, came from the leading Hungarian Symphony Orchestras – as for example the Hungarian National Philharmonia, the Budapest Radio Orchestra and State Opera Orchestra – the Philharmonia Hungarica was formed in Vienna, in the Spring of 1957, thanks to the spontaneous and generous assistance of several philanthropic organizations, mainly the Congress for the Freedom of Culture, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the International Rescue Committee and the Swiss Committee for Aid to the Freedom Fighters of Hungary.

Soon the artists resumed their serious artistic work, which, in a very short time, assured a leading place for this ensemble in the international music world.

The enthusiastic approval met with again and again by them during their many tours in Europe and North America, as well as during musical festivals, is a proof of the importance and vitality of this orchestra.

It is all to the credit of the cultural policy of the Federal German Republic, the regions of North Rhine-Westphalia and the city of Marl, to have recognized the unique value of the Philharmonia Hungarica, and, through generous financial assistance, to have assured the continued existence of an internationally appreciated orchestra.

Many of the members of the Orchestra are winners of valuable music prizes and have successfully taken part in international music competitions. The Ramor Quartet, consisting of instrumentalists from the string sections, gained first prize in the Geneva International Music Competition in 1957, and in 1962 the same prize was awarded to the Wind Quintet of the Philharmonia Hungarica.

Several of the members of the Philharmonia Hungarica were attracted to the career of soloist, others distinguished themselves through invitations to perform with renowned European and American Orchestras. And yet they all resolved, out of a sense of artistic integrity and patriotism, to remain loyal to the commitment of their own orchestra.

As an instance of the reputation enjoyed by the Orchestra with international audiences and press, let me quote the words which a Greek critic wrote on the occasion of a series of concerts at the 1962 Athens International Festival: "Our country – Music! That is the message of religious and patriotic faith one almost hears at a performance of the Philharmonia Hungarica. One also gets the impression that these men and women, who were forced to leave their country against their will, have brought with them, and preserved, not only the music, but – a particle of their home country!"

Notes on Symphonies 49–56 by H. C. Robbins Landon

As students of Haydn know, his 107 symphonies (*i.e.* the 104 plus three works erroneously left out of the list) are not entirely in chronological order. In view of the problem's complexity, a few introductory notes about the chronology of Symphonies Nos. 49–56 might be welcome. The principal sources for dating Haydn's earlier symphonies are: (1) the autographs, such as have survived, and which are almost always dated; (2) dated contemporary copies; (3) the period of entry in Haydn's so-called *Entwurf-Katalog*, a running draft catalogue which the composer began in *c.* 1765 and kept until the end of the century or even *c.* 1805; the entries are sometimes sporadic and often in blocks, that is, with gaps of years between the blocks. By using dated autographs and other solid evidence, however, we can date fairly precisely the various blocks in the *Entwurf-Katalog*. The situation with regard to Symphonies Nos. 49–56 is that we are dealing with works ranging from 1768 (No. 49) to about 1780. The following table will, therefore, place the symphonies in chronological rather than numerical order.

Date of composition	*Number*	*Remarks*
1768	49	Dated autograph (Stockholm)
c. 1771–1773	52, 51	These symphonies were entered in Haydn's *Entwurf-Katalog* as follows: No. 52 together with works in 1771 or 1772. No. 51 was entered slightly later (*c.* 1775) and is probably the later work. Both were announced as being for sale in MS. by Breitkopf in 1774.
1773	50	Dated autograph (formerly in Berlin State Library).
1774	54, 55, 56	Dated autographs in Berlin State Library (Nos. 55, 56) and Esterházy Archives, Budapest (No. 54).
c. 1780 *(circa)*	53	The version of this work with the finale entitled *Capriccio: Moderato* (earliest source: the authentic parts in the Esterházy Library) was composed about 1780 – *vide infra*.

In May, 1761 Haydn was engaged as Vice *Capellmeister* to Prince Paul Anton Esterházy, who lived at Eisenstadt Castle most of the year, going to Vienna for Christmas and sometimes taking his musicians with him. The nominal *Capellmeister* was the old and crotchety Gregor Werner, who continued to run the church music; Haydn was in charge of the orchestra. At the time of Haydn's engagement, the band was considerably enlarged. Most of the players were proficient on more than one instrument: of the two new horn players engaged in 1763, both could play string bass instruments as well. In these early years, the regular instrumental group consisted of one flute, two oboes, two bassoons, two horns, three violins, one violoncello and Haydn (who sometimes joined the violins and sometimes conducted from the harpsichord). The Princely church music group also included a small nucleus of string players – a couple of violins, a cello and a double bass. The timpani player, Adam Sturm, was pensioned but could obviously be had for an occasional symphony with kettledrums. Later, the trumpet and timpani players were always recruited whenever necessary and were not regular members of Haydn's *instrumentarium*.

Gradually – especially when the new Castle at Eszterháza was opened – new string players had to be engaged permanently. Eszterháza was very lonely and there was no church group from which to borrow players; the nearest place was Oedenburg (now Sopron), and Haydn actually did borrow musicians from there when a great festival took place. By 1780, there were ten violinists (not including Haydn), two viola players, two cellists and two double bass players, apart from the usual woodwind and brass players.

In the early part of the 1760s, the band was regularly situated at Eisenstadt Castle, but they occasionally went to Kittsee Castle, a pretty residence across the Danube from Pressburg (now Bratislava, CSSR). A document of the year 1765, from the Esterházy Archives, tells us something of the circumstances under which most of Haydn's symphonies in the period 1761–1766 were first given. We read that Haydn is "to hold in our [Prince Esterházy's] absence two musical concerts every week in the Officers' room at Eisenstadt, *viz.* on Tuesdays and Saturdays from two to four o'clock in the afternoon. All the musicians are to appear . . .".

At Eszterháza, everything gradually came to centre round the opera house and, at the beginning, the elegant marionette theatre. Prince Paul Anton had died in 1762, to be succeeded by Prince Nicolaus (known as "The Magnificent"), under whom Haydn served till the Prince's death in 1790. Prince Nicolaus, a benevolent despot, was himself a good musician and encouraged Haydn in his far-reaching and occasionally extravagant experiments in the symphonic form. But Nicolaus's grand passion, apart from his fabulous diamond-studded uniforms, was opera; in 1768, the opera house was opened at Eszterháza and when it burned down in the disastrous fire of November 1779, Prince Nicolaus immediately set to work on a new and even larger one, which was opened on 25 February 1781 with the première of Haydn's *La fedeltà premiata*. From 1776 on, there was a regular operatic season at Eszterháza; previously, the operas produced had been exclusively by Haydn himself, but after 1776, he found himself becoming more and more an operatic *Capellmeister*. Prince Nicolaus preferred Italian *opera buffa*, and soon the theatre echoed to strains of Paisiello, Guglielmi, Gazzaniga, Cimarosa and Anfossi. Many new singers were engaged, including the pretty, dark-haired Italian soprano, Luigia Polzelli, whose husband was engaged as a violinist. Haydn fell madly in love with "la Polzelli" and the two carried on an open love affair in front of their respective spouses. Naturally, with all this operatic activity, Haydn had less and less time to compose and after the enormously vital years of symphonic composition between 1761 and 1775, the symphony soon had to occupy a very minor rôle in Haydn's busy life. Actually he was very interested in opera as a form, and composed a great many very interesting stage works for Eszterháza.

Apart from the opera house, Haydn also conducted the musicians for the marionette operas in the puppet theatre; he also composed several works for that theatre, which was soon famous throughout Europe. Here, all the operas were done in the German language, and a chorus, from the local population, could be recruited. Haydn soon became so interested in puppet operas that he formed his own private marionette theatre to entertain people in Carnival time. Once, the Prince actually hired Haydn's puppet group to perform at a surprise birthday party for his "dear Princess". Apart from Italian opera and German marionette operas, Esterházy was fascinated with the spoken theatre and engaged whole troupes of strolling players to take up residence at the Castle for months at a time. The most famous of these strolling players was the Karl Wahr Troupe, who spent many happy summers at Eszterháza. Prince Nicolaus commissioned German translations of Shakespeare plays from Wahr, and Haydn was able to enjoy *King Lear, Hamlet, Richard III, etc.*, in special translations printed – like the operas and marionette pieces – at the Prince's expense in Oedenburg or Vienna. Haydn provided all the incidental music for the plays, and the Gotha *Theater-Kalender* lists "Capellmeister: Joseph Hayden" [*sic*] under the Wahr Troupe, "resident at His Highness, Prince Esterházy". Some of this incidental music, such as that to *Hamlet*, announced in the *Pressburger Zeitung* in 1774 has, alas, not survived. Some of the arrangements of other peoples' music which Haydn undertook, still exist: *e.g.* the music to *King Lear*, which Haydn reorchestrated and "dappered up" from an extant score by one Wilhelm Stegmann. And finally, some of this incidental music was turned into symphonies and has thus survived: we know that Nos. 60 and 63 were written as incidental music to plays given by Karl Wahr at Eszterháza, and we suspect the same of Nos. 59 and 65. As it happens, we have the total season's repertoire intact for Eszterháza Castle during the year 1778. It shows that concerts were given either for everyone, in the *sala terrena* (a lovely room, recently restored by the Hungarian authorities), or "nell' appartamento" of Prince Nicolaus – chamber music, in which the Prince often participated.

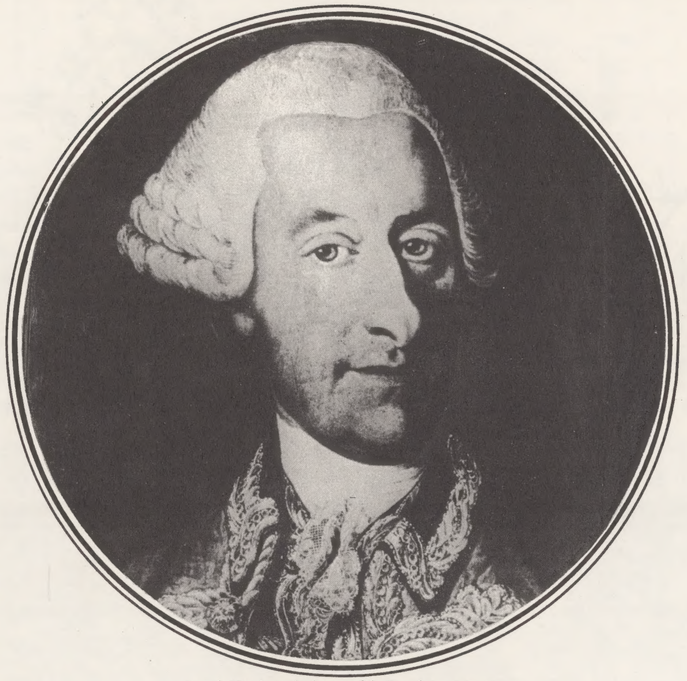
On 10 March a group of strolling players, the Pauli Company, arrived and took up residence. From that date until three days before Christmas, there was a German play, an Italian opera, or a German marionette opera every night except at Easter and when the Prince was not in residence. They put on *Romeo and Juliet*, Goethe's *Stella*, a number of Italian operas including Dittersdorf's *Arcifanfano* and marionette operas including Haydn's *Dido*. On 28 October the Pauli Company gave their last performance and departed, to be succeeded in two days by the Diwald Troupe who, of course, brought with them a new repertoire, including Lessing's *Emilia Galotti* and Shakespeare's *Richard III*. In the year 1786, to choose a final example, Haydn conducted 125 operatic performances at Eszterháza, including a total of seventeen operas, eight of them premières; in 1788, he conducted 108 performances of seventeen (mostly different) operas, seven of them premières. Of all the great composers, none – not Verdi, not Puccini, not Gluck or Mozart – had an operatic routine of Haydn's scope.

The dissemination of the symphonies included in this album shows that in the 1770s, MS. copies made by professional copyists were cheaper to acquire than the expensive and mostly foreign (French) editions of Haydn's music. Throughout the Austro-Hungarian empire, these MS. copies of Haydn's symphonies circulated: No. 49 was acquired by the great Benedictine Abbey at Göttweig in 1773, some five years after Haydn composed it, while the monks there acquired Nos. 54, 55 and 56 (as well as No. 57, also composed the same year as the previous three) in 1776, two years after they had been composed. The first editions of Nos. 49, 51, 52 and 54 were issued by Sieber in Paris, with whom Haydn had occasional dealings but who in all likelihood acquired good MS. parts from a Viennese copyist and issued the works without Haydn's knowledge: this was standard practice for Parisian publishers until the 1780s, when Haydn undertook to sell the works to Paris himself. No. 50 was very little circulated in Haydn's lifetime and was never printed. No. 53 was first printed in England, as we shall see below. Nos. 55 and 56 were, once again, first printed in France.

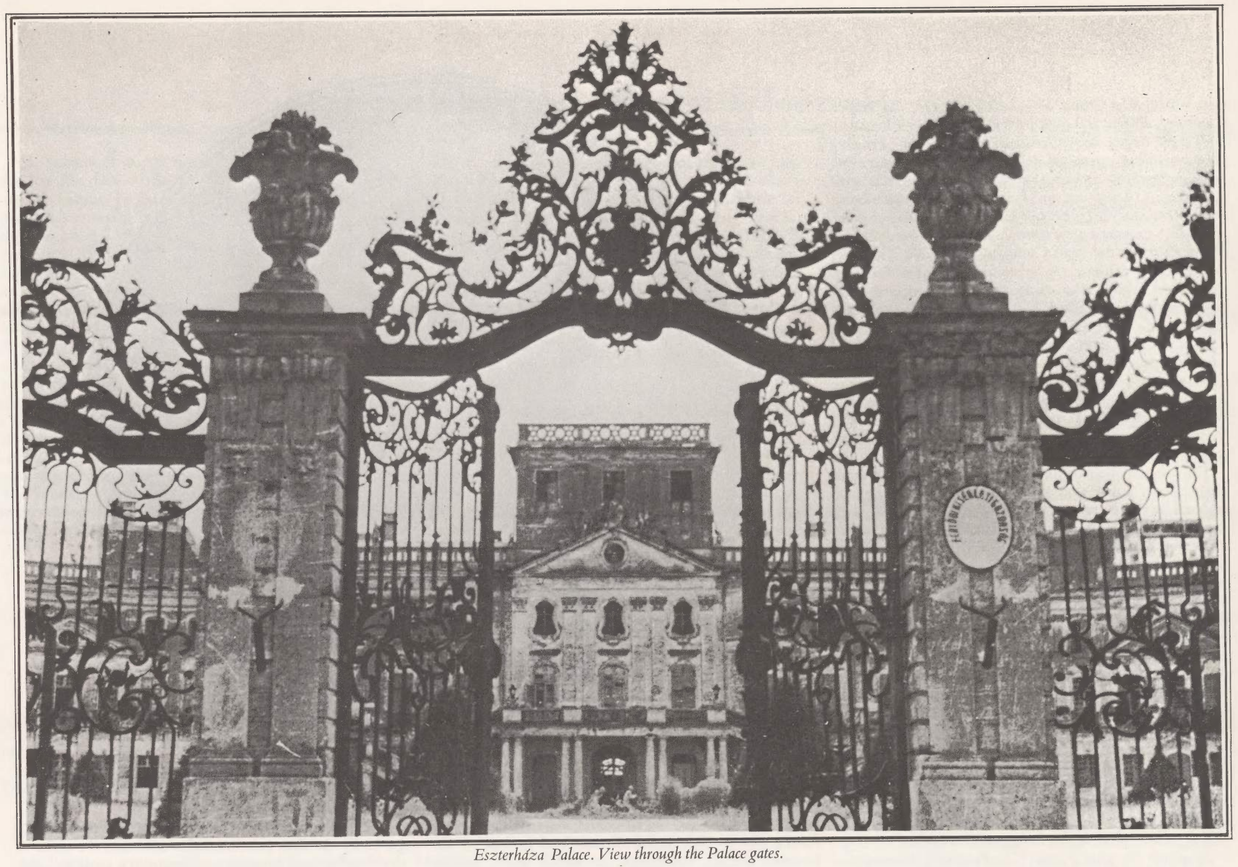
Symphony No. 49 in F minor ("*La Passione*"). Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns, strings, to the bass line of which has been added a bassoon and harpsichord *continuo*, as was Haydn's practice at this time. In a letter to Zwettl Monastery about the first performance there of the *Applausus* Cantata in 1768, at which Haydn was prevented from being present, the composer specifically asks for bassoon(s) to double the bass line "throughout", making an exception only of the soprano aria; but even there, Haydn would have preferred the bassoon; *mutatis mutandis* this means that even in the slow movements of symphonies, Haydn liked a bassoon to double the bass.

This dark-hued, sombre—even tragic—symphony, in the unusual key of F minor, stands directly in the centre of the "Romantic Crisis" in Haydn's life (as the earlier generation of scholars liked to call it): the so-called *Sturm und Drang* (storm and stress) period, the name of which, from a play by Klinger (1776), was used to describe the German literary revolution to which early Goethe (*Urfaust, Werther*) also belonged; but the dramatic crisis in Haydn's and, as has been recently demonstrated, in all Austrian music of the late 1760s and early 1770s, precedes the literary movement by several years and is obviously quite independent of it. The period as a whole is characterized by a new attention to polyphonic, and especially fugal, forms; by a new attitude to minor keys, which suddenly took on emotional aspects that they had not had in Vivaldi's time; and by a seriousness of purpose altogether. Haydn was unquestionably the leader of this school, and its most brilliant exponent; Symphony No. 49 is Haydn's *Sturm und Drang* at its bleakest: it is almost music with no way out. It hesitates, it poses questions, it supplies no answers.

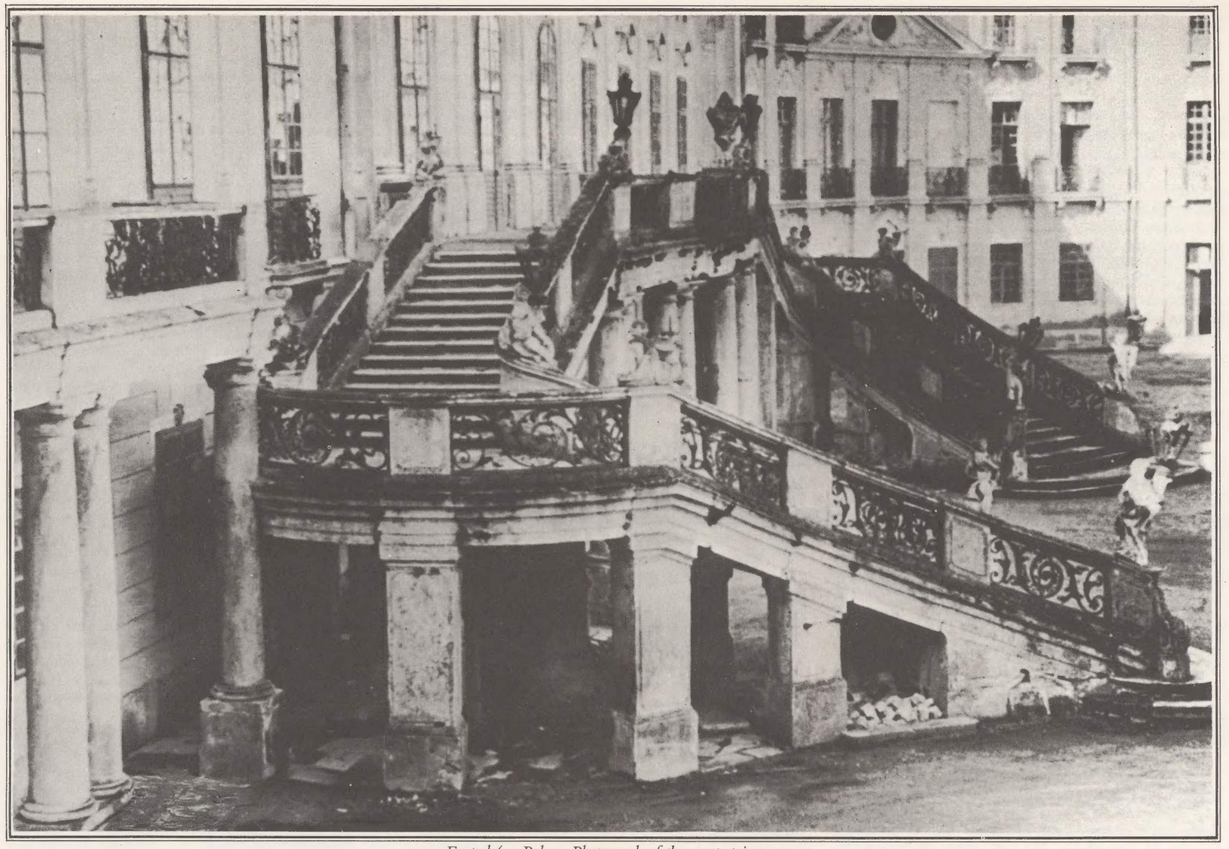
It is also Haydn's last symphony in the *sonata da chiesa* form, *i.e.* one that begins with an entire slow movement; gradually the slow introduction would take the place of the church sonata structure; or perhaps it is more accurate to say that the slow introduction grew out of the *sonata da chiesa*. Earlier, Haydn had composed Symphonies Nos. 5, 18, 21 and 22 – the latter the famous *Philosopher* Symphony – in that form. There is no doubt that its use suggested to Haydn a serious project: for all the earlier works, especially Nos. 21 and 22, have weighty opening slow movements. In the opening of No. 49, we seem to sense the winding line of penitents before the Cross, the *Dies Irae* of a plague-ridden flagellants' procession. Indeed, the music's sombre, majestic beauty has something of Goya in it. As in all the orchestral works of this period, Haydn takes great pains to lift the music out of its blackness by means of contrasting dynamic marks (see bars 65/67); but in *La Passione* the restless, questioning spirit prevails throughout.



Joseph Haydn in the livery of the Esterházy Musicians; The first Haydn portrait, reputed to be authentic, by J. B. Grundmann, from around 1768.



Eszterháza Palace. View through the Palace gates.



Eszterháza Palace. Photograph of the great staircase.

The wide leaps in the opening theme of the ensuing *Allegro di molto* are fiercely typical of Haydn in these years, as is the two-part writing and the syncopations that follow. One notes how carefully Haydn contrasts this jagged, heroic opening with the gliding quavers he introduces as soon as the music reaches the relative major (A flat). Yet it is with just this sinuously flowing music that Haydn provides his most brilliant touch – the transformation of this relatively serene music in the development back to the original key, in the process of which the sinuous quavers acquire an ominous, almost sinister colour. The minuet and trio are a kind of oasis between the quick movements, and the Trio, with the gunmetal gleam of its high horn notes, is a brief and peaceful interlude before the monothematic fury of the final *Presto*.

It will be noticed that Haydn has welded this symphony together not only by its single emotional character but by less apparent means: the opening notes of the symphony, its basic line (c – d flat – b flat – c), serve for the thematic material of all its four movements. In the *Allegro di molto* the top notes of the violin, *i.e.* those at the beginning of each bar, are c – d flat – b flat; and the second subject (bars 37*ff*.) is also a child of the basic progression – perhaps more clearly felt when it returns in the tonic minor at bars 126*ff*. The *Menuet's* beginning is again the c – d flat – b flat line, while the trio has more or less the same thing in major, and the Finale is the *Urlinie* with different rhythm and the intervals juggled slightly differently. It is an astonishing *tour-de-force* of thematic, or perhaps better, motivic unity in a symphony of this date. The abbots and princes with whom this work was so popular in Central Europe – dozens of old copies have been preserved – may not have analyzed why they thought this a great work, but that, after all, would not have been Haydn's intention; the technical means which make a symphony a unity, or a fresco organic, are something that the layman need not necessarily know to enjoy the finished project. And as Hans Keller has brilliantly demonstrated, the Viennese classical school had particular gifts in the organizaton of music by these "hidden" means.

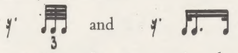
Symphony No. 50 in C. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns in C *alto* (high C), 2 trumpets, timpani, strings, to the bass line of which has been added a bassoon *continuo*. In the slow movement there is an *obbligato* (which in eighteenth-century language means the opposite of what it does now) violoncello part.

This is the era when Haydn myths are fast disappearing: the *Toy* Symphony is by Leopold Mozart, the *Serenade* Quartet is by Roman Hofstetter, the Brahms Variations are on a theme not by Haydn, and so forth. Recently a young Czech scholar demolished another Haydn myth. It was previously thought that Symphony No. 48 was composed in 1773 to celebrate the arrival, at Eszterháza Castle, of the Empress Maria Theresa; and MS. parts were, some years ago, discovered in Prague with the subtitle *Sanctae Theresiae* – so something of the legend seemed to be true. Then Dr. Pavel Polák discovered authentic MS. parts, by Haydn's copyist Joseph Elssler, of Symphony No. 48 in an obscure Slovakian castle at Zay-Ugrócz (Uhrovec) which have the pencilled date 1769 on the title page. Thus the most that can have happened to No. 48 is that Haydn played it when the Empress was at Eszterháza. But it is possible that for this splendid and important occasion Haydn did not write a *new* symphony, especially for his Queen and Empress? The evidence indicates that he did, and that No. 50 is the work actually written for Maria Theresa.

There are two facts available as proof: (1) the dating of the autograph. It is the only symphony which may be assigned, on the evidence of the date "773" (=1773) of the autograph, to the year 1773; Haydn may have written other symphonies in that year; we *know* he wrote No. 50. (2) The scoring. Haydn had a special scoring for pompous occasions, for kings and princes and fieldmarshals: C major. It occupies much the same place in Haydn's tonal constellation as D major did for J. S. Bach. Haydn's "festival key", then, is C major: and with it go, as long as he was at Eszterháza, specially high horns, in C *alto*. (Rather touchingly, they also appear, three of them, at the end of the great oratorio, *Die Jahreszeiten* [*The Seasons*, 1801].) To them were added timpani and, if Haydn could get hold of them, trumpets. Sometimes he has to make do with "2 Corni in C alto o Trombe" (2 high horns in C or trumpets). The scoring of the present work, then, is for this combination of instruments. During the Empress's visit in September, 1773, she heard two Haydn operas, *L'infedeltà delusa* and *Philemon und Baucis* (with its prologue *Der Götterrath*), both of which contain brilliant C major sections with C *alto* horns (also trumpets, in the case of *Philemon*) and kettledrums.

Finally, it is interesting to note that Haydn kept No. 50's autograph all his life, and shortly before he died, he sold it, as part of "dodici pezzi di musica", to his Viennese publishers, Artaria: obviously it meant something special to him. We are also able to show that the symphony was composed along with the first section (prologue) of the German marionette opera, for one number – the entrance of the goddess Diana – was written on some spare pages after the end of the second movement (the pages have since been detached from the symphony). All in all, it looks very much as if it was No. 50, not No. 48, which greeted the Empress when she went to visit the Chinese pavilion in the Eszterháza garden; after the performance, Haydn was introduced to the Empress, who remembered having had him thrashed for climbing on the scaffolding of Schönbrunn when he had been a choir boy at St. Stephan's. "You see", said the Empress, "that thrashing brought good fruit", a mixed metaphor that obviously represented the highpoint of Haydn's life up to then.

No. 50 opens with a stately introduction; baroque specialists will notice that the shortened upbeats and updotting are actually written out –



and

(a form of precise notation almost never found in a Handelian score, for example). The fast and nervous *Allegro di molto* is typical vintage Haydn of the period – the darting strings in semiquavers, the marching bass in quavers, stabbed by brass and percussion and held together with long phrases (or notes) on the oboes. It is also extremely concise music; there is not a note too much.

Were the Empress's conservative views on music known to Haydn? It is hard to think they were not. Maria Theresa had been taught by Hasse, and to Hasse she remained faithful her life long. It had been Hasse who, in 1767, had convinced the Empress that Haydn's *Stabat Mater* was a great work – something for which Haydn remained thankful his whole life. In 1772 the Empress had written, *apropos* of new music in Austria, "there is a certain Hayden *(sic)*, but he's just beginning". Obviously she was not aware of the magnificent symphonies and quartets that Haydn was, just that year, composing in Eszterháza and Eisenstadt. In any event, this *Andante moderato* is deliberately conservative: it returns to the orchestral lay-out of Symphony No. 16, with its violoncello *obbligato* doubling the melody at the octave, which had been composed about a dozen years earlier; and it again turns to the regal French dotted rhythm: deliberate flattery? One is tempted to think so. The scoring is distinctly Haydn's all the same: the octave doublings in his early quartets had created a real *furore* in their time; people had loved or hated them at the first encounter. There is another clever note, too: all during the first part the oboes are silent; it is not till the second part that they suddenly enter, with the recapitualtion.

The sturdy *Menuet* uses the chordal skeleton of the introduction to the first movement; there is a sudden switch to the tonic minor in the middle, and the texture and mood become heavier, with the lower parts taking over the semiquavers that have appeared off and on during the first eleven bars. The Trio – Haydn writes on the autograph "the rests in the trio must be written out because there are no repeats in the trio" – is also unconventional: it begins just like the minuet proper and then swerves into F major and a lyrical oboe solo; and at the end it lingers on the dominant of A, into which key Haydn never takes us, because at that point the *Menuet* is repeated.

The monothematic Finale (marked *Presto*) has separate parts for the high horns and trumpets (hitherto *unisoni*): notice, at the end of the first part (bars 60*ff.*) how Haydn saves the horns' lips by allotting the high g's (and f sharps) to the trumpet. The movement develops considerable force as it progresses, particularly that syncopated section that first appears at bars 98*ff.* and looks swiftly forward to the language of Beethoven: the next time it appears there is even a Beethovenian-like dissonance: D sharp clashing with E at the same octave (bar 124): people always forget that Haydn was, after all, Beethoven's greatest teacher.

The end of the movement contains a wonderfully original modulation through the dominant of D minor into F, but instead of arriving at F Haydn drops into a deceptive cadence and lands us back at the tonic – which he now proceeds to re-establish by a triple series of fanfares, high horns, trumpets and kettledrums (reinforcing, originally enough, oboes, violas and cello-basses) sounding forth to greet their sovereign lady. History does not record what the Empress thought of her new symphony, but when she went back to Vienna, she told everyone, "If I want to hear a good opera, I must go to Eszterház[a]".

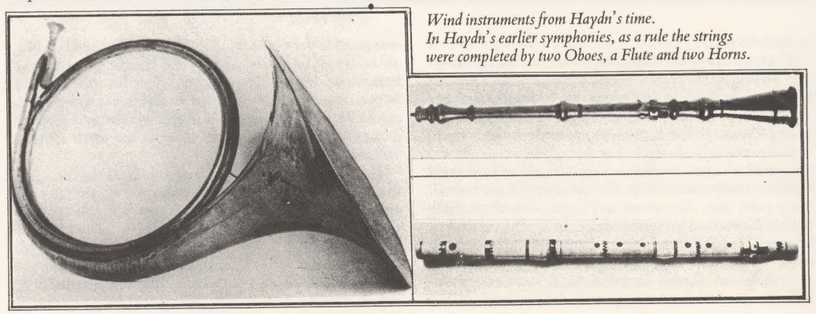
It is rather incredible to record that Symphony No. 50 was first published in 1951.

Symphony No. 51 in B flat. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns, strings, with bassoon added to the *continuo*.

This is the kind of original symphony that was, in the years 1771-1774, making Haydn's reputation as a revolutionary thinker. On the exterior, we have a minuet with two trios, a second movement which could be from a horn concerto, and a variety of dynamic markings that must have startled many remote monasteries and castles unused to seeing words like "calando" (meaning *rallentando* and *decrescendo*) and the wild profusion of *f*, *ff*, *p* and *pp*, often in immediate proximity. It was a time, this, for exaggeration: in the first movement, we slide in the exposition from B flat into G minor, and from *pp* to *ff*. Soft string passages with gliding crotchets lead to passages of real contrapuntal ferocity (see the development section, after the *fausse reprise* in E flat, bars 116*ff.*). Two-part exchanges between the violins seem to come from a string quartet; but rarely does Haydn use his little orchestra with such violence.

The solo horn writing of the slow movement exploits the very top and bottom of the instrument's range: the second horn, deep down in the bass clef and with "stopped" notes (made by placing your hand in the bell which lowers the tone) comes after a terrifying solo for the first horn, that extends up to sounding a flat ″. In the middle section there is a beautiful interlude for strings alone – the upper strings are muted here, a favourite device of Haydn's at this period – which continues the triplets initiated towards the end of the first section, and which dwindles away to the first violins all by themselves. This is real music for a chamber orchestra, for the solitude of Eszterháza and a small audience of genuine connoisseurs, most of whom (Haydn's Prince Nicolaus included) were able to play an instrument with near professional skill, or to sing a complicated Italian aria at sight. The cultural level of Haydn's audience is something we would do well to remember, when listening to the bold, inventive workings of one of music's most fertile and original minds.

The infectiously kinetic quality of Haydn's minuets was immediately recognized. After the first public performance of *Die Schöpfung* (*The Creation*) in 1799, some Swedish visitors went to call on Haydn. The talk fell on Haydn's minuets, and they discussed the tempo. One Swede sang a minuet. "It's too fast", said Haydn, "the basses won't bring it off clearly." The composer added that he had been credited with inventing that kind of *Kunstmenuett*, a cross, also in tempo, between a dancing minuet and a *scherzo*. New evidence has just (1970) come to light that the Viennese actually waltzed to Haydn's great *Deutsche Tanze* of 1792 and 1795. They might have danced to this delightfully alive and vibrant minuet, in Symphony No. 51, as well. The first trio is for strings alone, with a Lombard (as it is called) snap in the melody; some manuscripts omit this first trio, which was possibly an afterthought (the chromatic curve into the second part reminds one of the same effect in Mozart's *Haffner* Symphony, composed a decade later). The second trio



Wind instruments from Haydn's time.
In Haydn's earlier symphonies, as a rule the strings were completed by two Oboes, a Flute and two Horns.

is another page from a double horn concerto (Haydn actually wrote one: it is lost). Here the first horn twice reaches high B flat ″, the highest note ever written for horn: Haydn writes it once more, for an E flat horn, in the *Terzetto* "Pietà di me"; and again the second horn plunges down into the lowest register. It shows you the fantastic quality of Haydn's orchestra at Eszterháza, a "band of professors", as Michael Kelly (who participated in the first performance of Mozart's *Figaro*) called it.

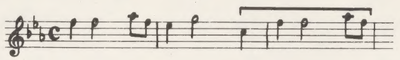
The Finale is one of the first of Haydn's famous rondos (that is, always returning to the "A" section in the tonic; though here Haydn takes care to vary the theme, the orchestration and the dynamic marks when the "A" returns). For contrast there is a lilting oboe solo in E flat and a ferocious *ff* section in G minor with the wide leaps in the violin part that Haydn writes in minor-key symphonies of the period. But above all this movement has the rollicking high spirits and sense of impish fun (bars 86-88) that have endeared these rondos to everyone for two hundred years.

Symphony No. 52 in C minor. Scoring: 2 oboes, bassoon, 2 horns (in C *alto*, E flat or in C *basso*), strings.

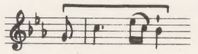
This is one of the most powerful of Haydn's *Sturm und Drang* symphonies: big in its scope and emotional range, it is as if Haydn had realized, in one supremely dramatic work, all the force of this new symphonic style. Like so many of these works (*e.g.* Nos. 44 in E minor, 46 in B, 51 in B flat, 56 in C, and so forth) it begins with a unison passage – always a symbol of strength in Austrian music of this period. The first movement has one most unusual feature: the second subject, seemingly in complete contrast to the first by the way (the dotted rhythm, the *piano* marking), comes in twice, the second time with a mournful little extension, *pp*. We say seemingly, because

The First Prince Nicolaus Esterházy "The Magnificent" (1714-1790).

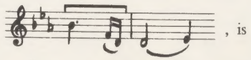
Haydn as always has taken great pains to weld the movement into a unity by connecting motivic links. Thus the figure of the first subject (bars 4*ff.*)



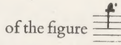
has a clear intervallic relationship to this in the second:



while the little tail of the second subject, when it appears the first time

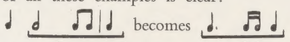


, is obviously a derivate of the figure

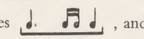


, especially

of the bridge passage. Also, the rhythmic interconnection of all these examples is clear:



becomes



, and in the passage between the two entries of the second subject, this same rhythmic figure remains prominent.

The massively powerful development section, in which the double counterpoint is so masterly, goes to work on another section of the bridge passage to the first subject: where the violins have semibreves and the bass line is in crotchets (bars 20). Now this broadly moving texture is placed against the context of the second subject. In the recapitulation there are once more the two entries of the second subject, but the second time it is spun out in a *pianissimo* kind of codetta which is most affecting; till with a slash of the tutti the movement moves swiftly to its gaunt end. Notice the acid, lean texture of the orchestration, in which the high C horn, hitherto reserved for queenly banquets and princely diversion, cuts through the texture. If we may be permitted a slight tautology, the sound created here is brilliantly sombre; it is also unique in the history of Viennese classical orchestration hitherto.

The second movement is the necessary foil to all this drama. With low C horns, it's almost like a stately Spanish dance: cat-like, reserved, with the sweetly nasal muted violins that Haydn liked so much. The wind instruments are used sparingly, like a delicate water colour; only once does the texture violently change. At the beginning of the second section, Haydn dashes into D minor and then A minor, with nervous strings and a wash of colour in the winds.

The *Menuetto* is again in the leaden atmosphere of much of the first movement: often in rather gaunt two-part texture; but the horns still remain in C *basso*. There are off-beat *forzati* in the second part of the minuet proper which will constitute a major feature of the C major trio.

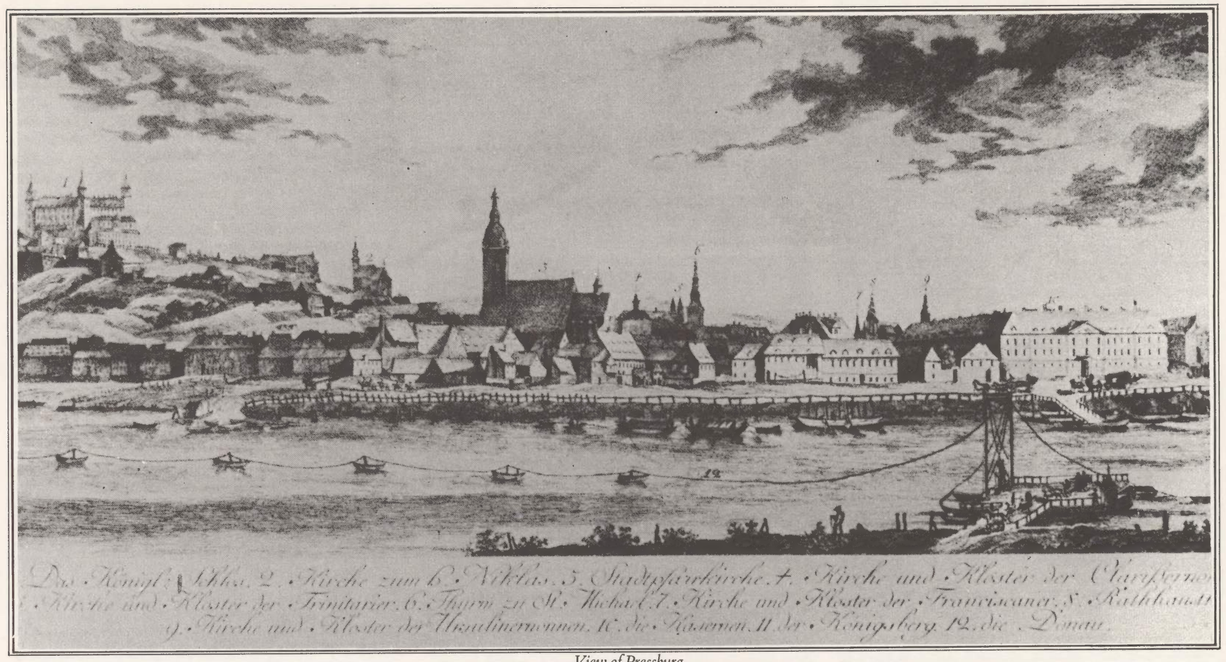
With the Finale (*Presto*, in cut time), we are back to the original orchestration with high C horn. This final movement is a grim *tour-de-force*: the whole movement is either loud or soft; only in one section (bars 93*ff.* of the development) do we have juxtaposed *f* and *p*. Otherwise this is a relentlessly forward-driving movement, perhaps the farthest Haydn ever went in his *Sturm und Drang* style (or at least, it is the equal to that other extraordinary Finale, of No. 44 in E minor). It carries to the logical end the same kind of thing that we have experienced in the Finale of No. 49: the rushing strings (quavers) over sturdy crotchet basses, the repeated notes in the violins, the nervous, concentrated atmosphere. The end is particularly effective: after five massive chords (bars 175*ff.*) we move swiftly to the conclusion; Haydn almost never wastes time over the endings. It is the severely logical ending of a movement whose total effect was conceived with mathematical precision. This is the grandfather of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, also created with mathematical precision and in extreme conciseness (especially as far as the first movement is concerned).

Symphony No. 53 in D (*L'Impériale*). Scoring: 1 flute, 2 oboes, 1 bassoon, two horns, timpani, strings.

The name *"L'Impériale"* first appears on a catalogue of Haydn's symphonies published at the beginning of the nineteenth century by Sieber in Paris; we have no idea to what the name refers.

This symphony has a curious and complicated history. Haydn appears to have sent it to London, perhaps via General Jerningham (who arranged to have Haydn's new works published by Forster of London), for the Bach-Abel concerts, where it was the smash hit of the 1781 season. It also circulated rapidly on the Continent, where Hummel of Berlin brought it out a couple of years later. It was arranged for harpsichord, and the second movement became one of the greatest hits of all time in Europe. It was one of the last works that J. C. Bach and K. F. Abel were able to launch, for by the end of the year Bach was dead and the famous concerts at an end. The symphony was such a success that the first edition noted especially, "The favourite Overture in all the parts as performed with universal applause at Messrs Bach and Abel's concerts composed by Giuseppe Haydn of Vienna . . .". The version that Haydn sent to London – later people in England always said it was specially composed for the Bach-Abel concerts – was considerably different than that here recorded. The symphony had no slow introduction; it simply began with the *Vivace*, and the timpani only played in this movement (a curious idea). The Finale was different, too; it was an operatic overture in D composed in 1777 for some unknown operatic performance at Eszterháza and easily adapted for this symphony by leaving off the end of the overture, which modulated to the dominant of C major.

Later Haydn added the majestic slow introduction and wrote a new Finale entitled *Capriccio*; since the symphony was already circulating all over Europe and even to the United States, this new version did not achieve wide distribution at all and the *Capriccio* Finale was not printed until 1951. If we assume that Haydn wrote the symphony about 1778 or 1779, this new version appears for the first time in MS. parts by Haydn's copyist Joseph Elssler (and another hand as well) in the Esterházy archives. There had been a disastrous fire at Eszterháza in December 1779 which had destroyed most of the instruments and most of the music, too; Haydn happened to



View of Pressburg.

have the autographs of some of his operas in his apartment in the Music House, and thus they were saved; but all the earlier symphonies were burned, and we have them only from other copies. The first symphony that was copied after the fire was No. 70 (December 18, 1779), and the next year, *inter alia*, No. 53 in the new version.

Haydn was now composing in a style that was immediately successful. His completely integrated music – we use the word in its present sociological meaning – was understood and loved by people everywhere. There were things for the connoisseur, of course, such as the breathtakingly beautiful lead-back to the recapitulation in the first movement, where the woodwind are used like an organ.

The immensely successful second movement may be based on an old French song; the evidence has not yet been assembled. In any case, it was so popular that when in 1793 County Harrach erected a statue to Haydn in the composer's birthplace, Rohrau, they engraved this music on it as symbolic of Haydn's muse. It is in the alternating major-minor variation form that Haydn was later to enrich and perfect in the Salomon Symphonies and the late quartets. The tune itself is a perfect specimen of pre-Revolutionary sophisticated music; we must constantly bear in mind that Haydn, not Mozart, is the typical eighteenth-century composer, the one closely identified with European society at that time. This statement is not intended to cause controversy: we are not arguing the relative merits of Haydn and Mozart here; but we must not forget that it is *L'Impériale* and not the *Paris* or *Haffner* Symphonies which penetrated throughout pre-Revolutionary Europe. Haydn was *par excellence* a man of his times – not Bach or Mozart, both of whom (and especially Bach) lived in many respects an isolated artistic existence.

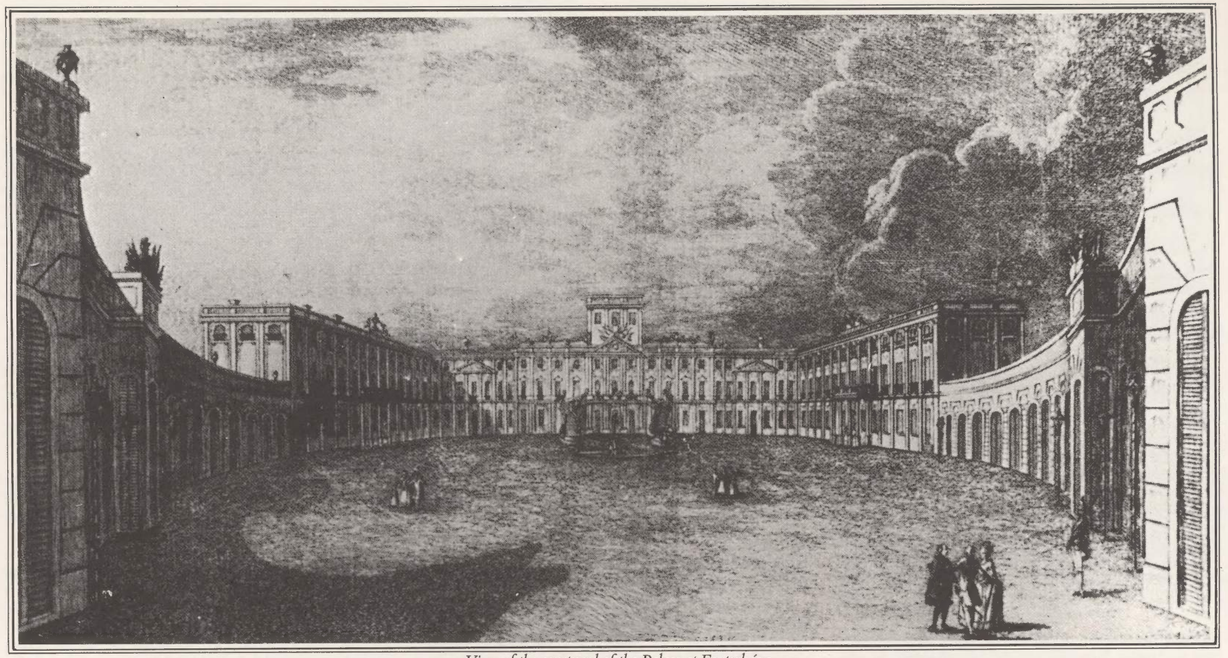
The *Menuetto* is another irresistible dance movement, the kind that must have made every satin slipper or buckled shoe twitch in sympathy. Again there is a fantastic passage for the connoisseur: after the long pause in the second part, there is another heartbreakingly beautiful lead-back to the tonic. The Trio is a gentle flute solo, reminding us that here too, Haydn caught the spirit of the times: for the flute, in the eighteenth century, was, even more than the harpsichord, the symbol of music; it figured, hauntingly, in Watteau; it was the Petit Trianon, it was Rousseau's back-to-nature, it represented the *galant*, the mock shepherds and shepherdesses who languish in the corners of French paintings.

We have no idea why Haydn wanted to replace the brightness of the 1777 *sinfonia* with this formally more interesting *Capriccio*. The earlier Finale is undoubtedly more suited to international distribution. Incidentally, it is only recently that Sonja Gerlach has established that this *Capriccio* is the later of the two finales. Formally, *Capriccio* meant to Haydn a kind of rondo, that is, the main theme returns several times and is set off, in between, by contrasting material. Here we have a long and interesting section in D minor, with elaborate writing for the woodwind. Like most of Haydn's *capriccio* movements, there is a certain air of experimentation in this one, too, which is perhaps slightly at odds with the suave and assured movements that precede it.

Symphony No. 54 in G. Scoring: 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, 2 trumpets, timpani, strings.

This symphony, like its numerical (if by no means chronological) predecessor, was subjected to considerable revision by Haydn. In its original state, the work began with the *Presto*, i.e. without the lovely slow introduction, and was scored for oboes, bassoons, horns, timpani* and strings. The first thing Haydn added was the slow introduction; then, many years later (for London perhaps?), he added, on the autograph, the flute and trumpet parts. Interestingly, almost no contemporary MS.

* Originally there was only one bassoon, and also no timpani; but there are no known copies without two bassoons and the drums.



View of the courtyard of the Palace at Eszterháza.

included these later parts; only a very late (*c.* 1800–1810) MS. from the Archduke Rudolph collection (the same Archduke who was Beethoven's pupil) and the revised Sieber edition (*c.* 1800 or even later) have the flute and trumpet parts. As we know, Haydn took to England a great many works unknown as yet in that country, *e.g. Notturni* for the King of Naples, insertion arias for the operas at Eszterháza, etc. It now transpires that there was no edition of this symphony before that of Sieber's "revue & corrigée", *i.e.* until *after* the London visits; thus it appears most likely that Haydn added the flutes and trumpets for a London performance, where the symphony would have been completely unknown.

The introduction is majestic and stately, with the dotted French rhythm which Haydn so much liked in works of pomp and circumstance. The *Presto* is droll, like a comic aria in an *opera buffa*; the tapping rhythm of the strings' accompaniment later assumes a critical rôle in the development section.

The beautiful slow movement – the longest Haydn ever wrote – is marked *Adagio assai*, the slowest possible tempo. Once again there are muted violins, which lend that peculiar colour to the orchestral palette. Altogether this finely wrought, delicate movement sums up all that was admirable in the Eszterháza years; and again we must remember what a cultivated audience it was, capable of sustained concentration: for this movement requires a maximum of concentration from player and listener alike. At the end of the first part Haydn moves mysteriously from G to B flat unison, the horns employing their seventh harmonic (which Beethoven put to such good use in the Eighth Symphony); the half cadence has a strikingly effective viola part. Towards the end of the second part, there is a *crescendo* and a full stop on a six-four chord; whereupon, to our astonishment, there is a full-fledged cadenza for the two violins. (Were they soli, perhaps, at Eszterháza? Haydn and the leader Luigi Tomasini? In 1772 Count Zinzendorf visited Eszterháza, where he noted: "Bon diner, puis concert, deux chanteuses chanterent fort bien. Hayden *(sic)* joua du violon…".)

With the *Menuetto* we are back again in an *opera buffa*, the *appoggiature* sounding like Leporello's antics. The Trio, with solo bassoon, is a graceful and *legato* foil to the swashbuckling minuet.

Haydn is still experimenting with the Finale form. We have noted that he used an opening *sinfonia* of 1777 to *end* the first version of Symphony No. 53; he used that *sinfonia*, incidentally, once again as an opening movement: to No. 62. The present Finale, with its broad sonata form, its powerful development and its brilliantly extended recapitulation (where the opening theme swerves into B flat and gradually works round to the half cadence and the second subject) – it all sounds like, and could perfectly well be, an opening rather than a closing movement.

Excellent though the original orchestration was, the added flutes and trumpets improve the whole, making it richer in the woodwind and adding the brilliance that only trumpets could give: Haydn had trumpets only for a little more than a year (1780–1781) in the Eszterháza orchestra. Otherwise he had to recruit them from Oedenburg or, if he were in Eisenstadt, from the *Thurnermeister*. That is why we often find the Eszterháza symphonies using horns and timpani but no trumpets; the timpani player, incidentally, was the bassoonist Caspar Peczival – altogether, many of the players in Haydn's orchestra were adept at several different instruments, and some of the singers could also play an instrument. The size of Haydn's orchestra in 1780 was twenty-four (without the timpani); in the 1770s it was slightly smaller.

Symphony No. 55 in E flat ("*The Schoolmaster*"). Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, strings.

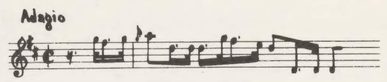
The autograph manuscript of this work is signed and dated but contains no reference to the "Schoolmaster";

Symphony No. 49. Last page of the autograph manuscript. Royal Music Library, Stockholm.

the title was known to Gerber, the great German lexicographer (*Neues historisch-biographisches Lexicon der Tonkünstler*, Leipzig 1812–1814). It seems to refer to the second movement (*vide infra*). The first edition was brought out by an interesting publisher in Lyon named Guera, who may have had some connection with Haydn: first, because one of the musicians in the Esterházy band, Lucas Garnier, ended up in the 1770s as "Musicien de la Comédie de la Ville de Lion"; and secondly, because Guera issued the first edition, in rather reliable texts, of several Haydn symphonies: No. 55, No. 56 (*vide infra*), Nos. 57 and 44 together, Nos. 60 and 66 together and Nos. 80 and 81 together. No. 55 he issued together with a symphony by Vanhal and another by Lochon about 1778.

The first movement is concise even by Haydn's rigorous standards. There is a lot of contrast, within and between the two subjects; there is also a classic example of a *fausse reprise*, which breaks off, and the development then resumes its course.

The centre of the symphony is its slow movement, and it is so "particularly" composed that it must have contained some special message, perhaps programmatical. The dotted figure, of course, suggests the wagging finger of a schoolmaster; and the reference is not all that unlikely, either. For in his *Entwurf-Katalog* there is an *incipit* of a lost *Divertimento* in D "Der Schulmeister gennant" (known as the Schoolmaster) with this characteristic dotted rhythm:



When Elssler transferred this theme into the big catalogue of 1805, he added the following title: "Der verliebte Schulmeister" (the schoolmaster in love), obviously from a verbal instruction of Haydn's. We suggest that something of this nature obtains in this extraordinary *Adagio, ma semplicemente*. As usual, the violins are muted. The two characteristic features are, on the one hand, the "semplice" sections (probably with no *vibrato* for the violins), and on the other, the "dolce" sections (probably with *vibrato*), the first emphasising the strict, pedantic teacher, and the other the same teacher shattered by love. Whatever the programme of these variations was, the result is bewitching: particularly the section at bars 81*ff.* is incredibly moving: as in Haydn's operas, he gets carried away with the subject.

The wrily humorous *Menuetto*, with its delicious *pianissimo* ending, is matched by a trio which, for once, is exactly what it says: a piece for three instruments: a solo violoncello and the two violins (perhaps they were solo, too, in Eszterháza?). Many years later, when in London the first time in 1791, Haydn was to remember this rather wistful trio and to compose a similar one, with a big cello solo, in Symphony No. 95.

The Finale is another racy rondo, with another irresistible tune. There follows, after the A section (which in turn is subdivided into a-b-a), a solo for wind band, right out of one of Haydn's delightful early wind band *divertimenti* for Count Morzin. Later the music gets off on a gigantic sidetrack and slows down to a dead stop (and pause), *sempre più piano*. At the end we get one of those typically Haydnesque exchanges: solo oboes—the two violins alone (*pp*)—horns solo—final cadence; but *anno* 1774 this was brand new and must have created a *furore* when the monks at Göttweig listened to it "post cenam" or the Prince of Oettingen-Wallerstein had it played by his great orchestra under Rosetti. It was always one of Haydn's most popular works, and one of the very few "middle-period" symphonies to enjoy, in the old days, the honour of an Eulenburg miniature score.

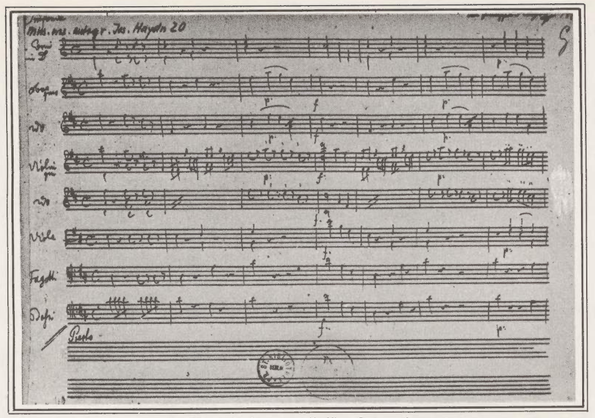
Symphony No. 56 in C. Scoring: 2 oboes, 1 bassoon, 2 horns in C *alto* and F, trumpets, timpani, strings.

In the middle 1770s Haydn's symphonies started to arrive in large quantity in Paris, which had witnessed the first publication of his early quartets, *divertimenti*, and his early symphonies (No. 2 appeared in 1764 as Haydn's first published *opus*). Part of this impetus may have come from a long visit to Paris by Luigi Tomasini, Haydn's favourite violinist ("no one knows how to play my quartets better") and the leader of Prince Nicolaus Esterházy's brilliant and famous orchestra. This visit is a recent discovery by Dr. János Hárich, ex-archivist of the present Prince Esterházy in Eisenstadt. From the "new" documents, it seems that at the last minute, Prince Nicolaus decided to take Tomasini with him to Paris in November 1767. Prince Nicolaus obviously intended, like Monteverdi's patron in Hungary many, many years earlier, to make music even in Paris; and in particular to play baryton trios by Haydn and Tomasini (who was a good composer in the Haydn manner). As is well known, Esterházy was so impressed by the Château de Versailles that upon returning from a previous visit to Paris in 1764, he had conceived the idea of building his own Versailles in the Hungarian marshes near Oedenburg: this was the origin of Eszterháza. The Prince spent a week in Paris in the late autumn of 1767; but he decided to leave Tomasini in the French capital to study music conditions there and to purchase the latest music for Eisenstadt and Eszterháza. It is unthinkable that Haydn did not use this opportunity to give Tomasini a few of his (Haydn's) latest works Is it an accident that Bailleux of Paris brought out, in 1768, a collection of Haydn string trios (Opus VI) followed, the next year, by a set of Haydn symphonies (Opus VII) including Nos. 3, 9, 28 and 29 (the two latter composed in 1765)? Probably Tomasini made valuable contacts with Parisian publishers. We know that Haydn was in correspondence with Sieber. Did the connection begin in the late autumn of 1767?

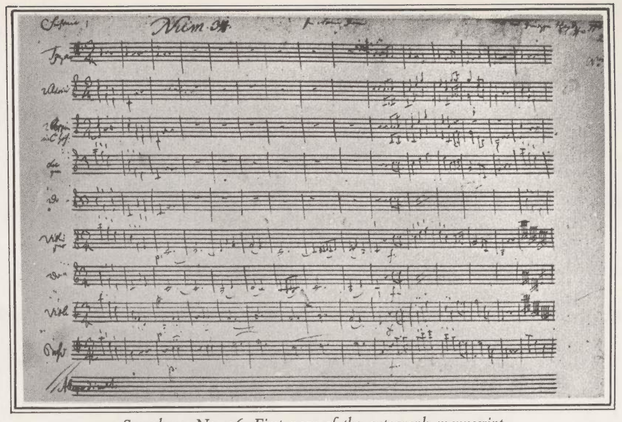
In any case, Haydn's new symphonies began, now, to arrive in Paris and to be printed at once. So avid were the French to hear the new Haydn symphonies, that they pirated works by almost *any* Austrian or German composer and issued them under Haydn's name. Opus IX in Paris meant one of two things: either the quartets still known under that opus number or "Six Simphonies a grande Orchestre par Mr Haydn Maitre de Musique de Chapelle a Vienne" issued by Madame Berault and containing, in that order, a pirated symphony by Franz Dussek (an old friend of Haydn's); a spurious work for which the real author has never been found; Michael Haydn's music to *Die Hochzeit auf der Alm* (completed at Salzburg on 6 May 1768); Michael Haydn's E major Symphony composed in January 1764; another anonymous spurious work and, for a wonder, Haydn's Symphony No. 30 (*Alleluja*). We must remember that Parisians soon had a very warped idea of what was Haydn. . . .

Still, they had a pretty shrewd idea of what was *great* Haydn; for when Symphony No. 56 arrived in the French capital, sometime in 1777, they went mad over it. Within a year three French editions existed: Mademoiselle de Silly, Sieber and Guera of Lyon (with a Parisian affiliate). Silly did not bother to engrave the trumpet and timpani parts (Guera, as always, did so), and Sieber noted "avec timballes et trompettes qui se vendent séparément"; Sieber also noted, in his edition (which included a symphony by J. C. Bach and one by Gossec), "Ces Smphonies on été joué au Concert Spirituel et au Concert des Amateurs".

The French were right. There are five known symphonies of the vintage year 1774: Nos. 54, 55, 56, 57 and 60—each a masterpiece in its own right and each one printed by Guera in Lyon (accident?). But No. 56 shines forth with exceptional brilliance, due to its fabulous C



Autograph of Finale (Version "B") of Symphony No. 53. Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin.



Symphony No. 56. First page of the autograph manuscript. University Library, Tübingen.

major scoring: the usual C *alto* horns (which the French, not knowing from the prints that they were *alto*, and probably not knowing C *alto* horns at all, will have played an octave lower), trumpets and timpani must inevitably dominate a score which, otherwise, consists of oboes, strings and a bassoon which is part of the *continuo* except in the slow movement.

The first movement is again one of those tension *cum* release structures of which we have spoken earlier. The opening theme is typical in this respect: the downward progression in unison resolving in soft string writing with sinuous inner voices; another chordal unison (if we may be permitted the tautology) with a strong dotted twist leads back to the opening material. It is beautifully symmetrical; it is also a series of abrupt contrasts, or tension and release. Now one of the hallmarks of this great period in Haydn's symphonies is the contrapuntal texture to which he frequently has recourse. In the ensuing transition (and how marvellous these transitions always are!), bars 29*ff.* are laid out in neat double counterpoint, the first trumpet contributing a strident extra voice, and the oboes following their own course, sometimes doubling the violins or the viola at the octave. After the second subject, the concluding material of the exposition again utilizes the transitional passage by placing the violins' part in the bass, in quavers, each alternate quaver being given a *marcato* and thus crotchet stress (violin 1 bar 29—bass 68); the two variants are eventually placed side by side in the development. Now notice the trick of musical syntax by which Haydn draws our attention to this device, the means which he uses to communicate this double counterpoint to the audience: the violins are marked *ff* against the *f* of the other instruments in 29, while at 68 this *ff* is transferred to the bass along with the accented staccato. It is the kind of thing Prince Esterházy, himself a good cellist, would have appreciated. Speaking of such delicate details of shading, notice the timpani dynamics at 206 and 212, the fierce *ff* in the trumpets at 244. Haydn's language has become infinitely more subtle, more complex, and this extends to every musical and technical feature of the symphony. The mysterious *pianissimo* drum roll at 222 is, it seems, the first time a drum roll appears in the history of music; you would hardly have found such a thing even in Haydn's symphonies a decade earlier.

In the beautiful slow movement, we would draw attention to the sudden entrance of the bassoon, droll and drily witty. A passage of dark-hued intensity reminds one almost of Bruckner (37*ff.*), while the sweeping *crescendo*—a dynamic mark that Haydn always uses sparingly and with telling effect—at 68*ff.* ennobles and transfigures the middle section of this great *Adagio* (notice the exquisite oboe line which twines round the strings and then flows above them into the upper octave).

We have spoken of the compelling, dance-like vitality of Haydn's minuets: here in No. 56 is a wonderful specimen, the bass pulling at you to get up and join the stamping peasants. Haydn came from Austrian peasant stock and was proud of it: he said, after he came back from England, "I have often in life mixed with many exalted persons, and we understood each other, too; but I prefer to be with people of my own class." This was the proud statement of a man who had chatted tête-à-tête with the King and Queen of England, and who had sat next to the Duchess of York as she happily hummed the tunes of his symphonies.

Haydn was never a peasant when it came to musical construction: here the highly educated thinker stands beside the earthbound man who loved the Austrian people: compare bars 31*ff.* of the Minuet with bars 82*ff.* of the Finale. Haydn is preparing us, in the former, for the rollicking triplets of the concluding part of the symphony. And what a conclusion it is! Stunning trumpet fanfares, the whirling triplets, the dancing, tongue-in-cheek second subject (notice the orchestration, with the held oboe and viola notes—and technically how the oboes take over from each other so that the players will never be too tired: Haydn, himself music's greatest craftsman, had a profound respect for his fellow musicians and never ran rough-shod over them as did Beethoven) . . . here is all Haydn's art so artfully concealed that the uneducated but music-loving listener never need see the profound technical knowledge that went into making this gay and fanciful *Prestissimo*. After this display of worldly exuberance, Haydn could not quite bring himself to put his usual note of thanks, "laus Deo", to the end of the manuscript. The "In Nomine Domini" at the beginning was enough: by the time you are drinking your third glass of wine at an Austrian harvesting on a warm Sunday in autumn, you forget that you've been to church that morning: well, you don't exactly forget, because in Austria, wine, *Wurst* and praise of God are not so divorced one from another as in the cold Protestant North. *Mutatis mutandis* . . .

The full scores of these symphonies are published by Verlag Doblinger (No. 49) and the Haydn Mozart Press (Nos. 50–56), edited respectively by the present writer and Helmut Schultz. The miniature scores are published separately or, with notes on the sources, as part of volumes four and five of all Haydn's symphonies in the Philharmonia Edition (Universal Edition).

H. C. Robbins Landon,
Buggiano Castello,
July 1969

Booklet cover: NICOLAUS ESTERHÁZY, Haydn's Prince from 1762 to 1790. Anonymous oil painting. Haydn Museum, Eisenstadt. The portrait shows Prince Nicolaus in later years (he died in 1790).

Haydn: The Symphonies (57-64)
The Philharmonia Hungarica conducted by
Antal Dorati

SIDE ONE

SYMPHONY No. 57 in D Major

1. Adagio (7:55)
2. Adagio (5:35)
3. Menuett e trio - Allegretto (4:55)
4. FINALE - Prestissimo (4:15)

SIDE TWO

SYMPHONY No. 58 in F Major

1. Allegro (4:35)
2. Andante (5:40)
3. Menuet all zoppa e trio - un poco allegretto (2:45)
4. FINALE - Presto (3:55)

SIDE THREE

SYMPHONY No. 59 in A major "Feuersymphonie"

1. Presto (4:50)
2. Andante o più tosto allegretto (5:05)
3. Menuet e trio (4:05)
4. Allegro assai (2:55)

SIDE FOUR

SYMPHONY No. 60 in C major "Il distratto"

1. Adagio (6:00)
2. Andante (5:25)
3. Menuetto e trio (5:00)
4. Presto (3:00)
5. Adagio (di Lamentatione) / FINALE prestissimo (5:15)

SIDE FIVE

SYMPHONY No. 61 in D major

1. Vivace (7:05)
2. Adagio (7:05)
3. Menuet e trio – Allegretto (5:20)
4. Prestissimo (3:15)

SIDE SIX

SYMPHONY No. 62 in D major

1. Allegro (5:00)
2. Allegretto (4:35)
3. Menuet e trio – Allegretto (3:05)
4. FINALE – Allegro (7:05)

SIDE SEVEN

SYMPHONY No. 63 in C major "La Roxolane"

1. Allegro (6:04)
2. Allegretto (o più tosto allegro) (5:42)
3. Menuet e trio (3:59)
4. FINALE – Presto (3:51)

SIDE EIGHT

SYMPHONY No. 64 in A major

1. Allegro con spirito (6:05)
2. Largo (8:36)
3. Menuet e trio – Allegretto (3:07)
4. FINALE – Presto (3:01)

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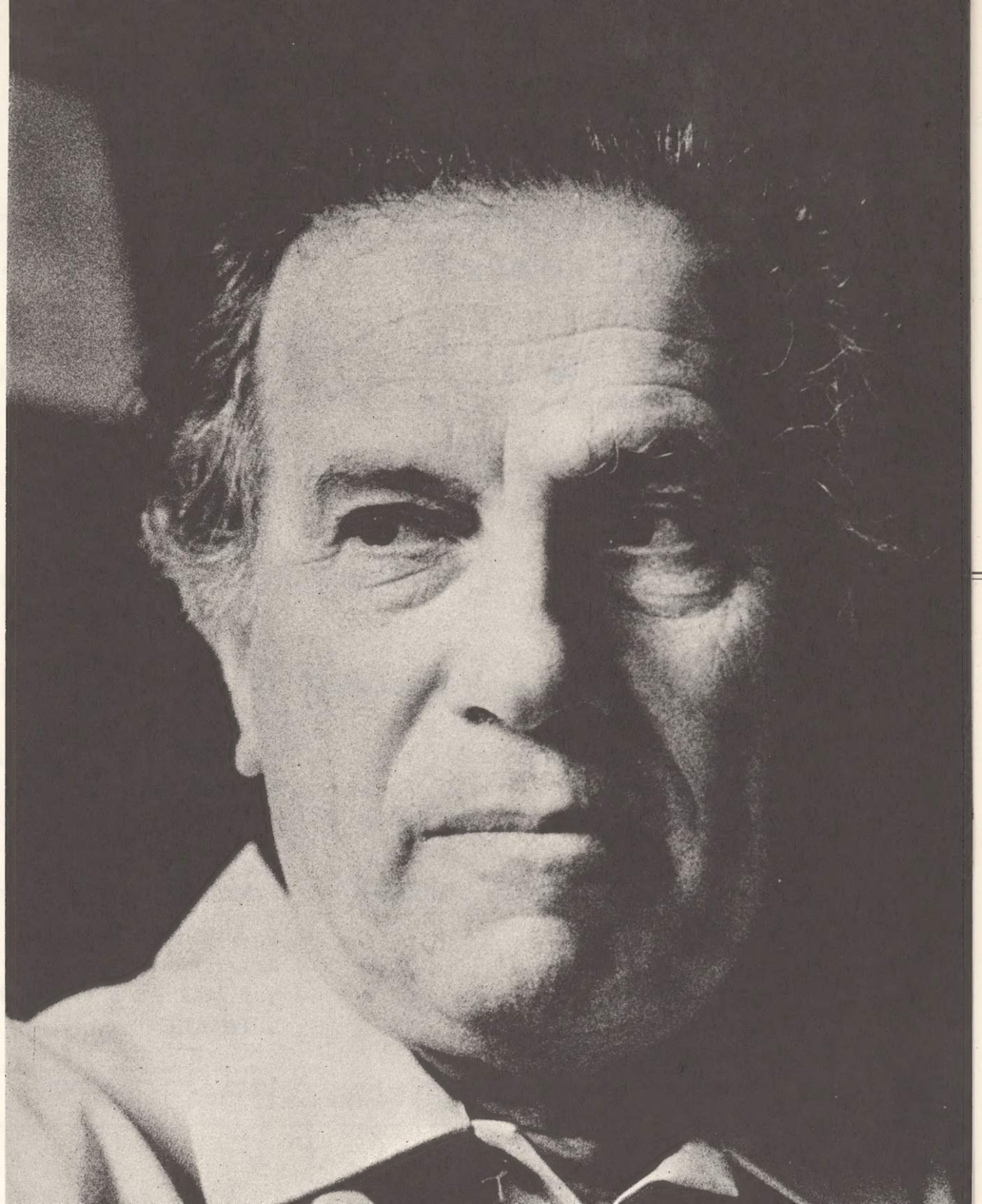


Antal Dorati

Antal Dorati

Antal Dorati was born in Budapest in 1906, and his parents, both musicians, recognised his talents and sent him at the age of fourteen to the Academy of Music in Budapest. His teachers were Zoltan Kodály, Béla Bartók and Leo Weiner. He graduated at eighteen as composer, pianist and conductor, and was the youngest person in the history of the Academy to receive a degree.

Soon after, he was appointed conductor of the Royal Opera House in Budapest, where he worked for four years. In 1928 he went to Dresden as the assistant of Fritz Busch. Between 1928 and 1933 he was principal conductor of the Opera House in Munster, at the same time appearing as guest conductor at several other Opera Houses in Germany, and with orchestras in many major musical centres.

In 1934 he joined the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo, and seven years later was appointed Musical Director of the Ballet Theatre. Meanwhile in 1937 he made his American debut as a symphonic conductor at an all-Beethoven concert with the National Symphony Orchestra of Washington D.C., and during 1939–40 made an extensive tour of Australia. Returning to the States, Dorati became Director of the New Opera Company in New York.

In 1945 he left the Ballet Theatre and was charged with the organisation of the Dallas Symphony Orchestra, and in 1949 he became Musical Director of the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra, and during his eleven years with them, he was responsible for numerous commissions, world premieres, and American premieres of important works.

From 1963 to 1966 Antal Dorati was Chief Conductor to the BBC Symphony Orchestra, and took the orchestra on a tour of Switzerland in October 1964, and the United States in the Spring of 1965. He has also made a return to opera, and conducts guest performances at Covent Garden, London, the Wiener Staatsoper, the Opera House, Rome, the Hamburg Opera and Maggio Musicale in Florence. He is now principal conductor of the Stockholm Philharmonic Orchestra and with him the orchestra made its first tour of the United States in 1968 with such success that a return tour was arranged for 1970. In October 1970, Antal Dorati was appointed chief conductor of the National Symphony Orchestra, Washington D.C., in addition to his commitments with the Stockholm orchestra.

When the Philharmonia Hungarica was formed in Vienna in 1957, from refugee musicians who had fled Hungary during the 1956 revolution, Antal Dorati was one of the orchestra's first conductors. He made several recordings with them during this period, so that the London project of recording the complete Haydn symphonies with Dorati and the Philharmonia Hungarica represents the renewal of a long-standing association.

Philharmonia Hungarica

Among the hundreds of thousands of refugees who left their home country during the Hungarian Revolution in the late Autumn of 1956 were many musicians, who set out for the free world with their instruments as their only possessions. It was yet another instance of the tragic tradition of the Hungarian history of culture, which, over two decades ago, Béla Bartók summed up in these poignant words: ". . . One must get away from here, no matter where to . . .".

From among these exiled musicians, who, almost without exception, came from the leading Hungarian Symphony Orchestras – as for example the Hungarian National Philharmonia, the Budapest Radio Orchestra and State Opera Orchestra – the Philharmonia Hungarica was formed in Vienna, in the Spring of 1957, thanks to the spontaneous and generous assistance of several philanthropic organizations, mainly the Congress for the Freedom of Culture, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the International Rescue Committee and the Swiss Committee for Aid to the Freedom Fighters of Hungary.

Soon the artists resumed their serious artistic work, which, in a very short time, assured a leading place for this ensemble in the international music world.

The enthusiastic approval met with again and again by them during their many tours in Europe and North America, as well as during musical festivals, is a proof of the importance and vitality of this orchestra.

It is all to the credit of the cultural policy of the Federal German Republic, the regions of North Rhine-Westphalia and the city of Marl, to have recognized the unique value of the Philharmonia Hungarica, and, through generous financial assistance, to have assured the continued existence of an internationally appreciated orchestra.

Many of the members of the Orchestra are winners of valuable music prizes and have successfully taken part in international music competitions. The Ramor Quartet, consisting of instrumentalists from the string sections, gained first prize in the Geneva International Music Competition in 1957, and in 1962 the same prize was awarded to the Wind Quintet of the Philharmonia Hungarica.

Several of the members of the Philharmonia Hungarica were attracted to the career of soloist, others distinguished themselves through invitations to perform with renowned European and American Orchestras. And yet they all resolved, out of a sense of artistic integrity and patriotism, to remain loyal to the commitment of their own orchestra.

As an instance of the reputation enjoyed by the Orchestra with international audiences and press, let me quote the words which a Greek critic wrote on the occasion of a series of concerts at the 1962 Athens International Festival: "Our country – Music! That is the message of religious and patriotic faith one almost hears at a performance of the Philharmonia Hungarica. One also gets the impression that these men and women, who were forced to leave their country against their will, have brought with them, and preserved, not only the music, but – a particle of their home country!"

Notes on Symphonies 57-64 by H. C. Robbins Landon

The symphonies recorded in this series represent nowadays some of the least known of all Haydn's 107 works in the form, for until the recent scholarly edition published by the Haydn-Mozart Press of the Universal Edition, a great many of these symphonies were not available in any modern edition – indeed, some, such as Symphonies Nos. 58, 59, 66 or 68, had never been printed since Haydn's lifetime.

A word must be said on the subject of the numbering used for Haydn's symphonies. In 1907, Eusebius von Mandyczewski prepared the first chronological list of authentic symphonies for the now defunct Collected Edition of Haydn's works projected by the famous Leipzig publishing house, Breitkopf & Härtel. He included 104 works. To this we now add three definitely authentic works which Mandyczewski purposely omitted, *viz.*:

(1) a Symphony in B flat major hitherto listed among the string quartets, where it figured as Opus 1, No. 5. Recent research has, however, proved that the work was composed as a symphony, with oboe and horn parts, and was inserted as a quartet by a Parisian publisher called de la Chevardière.

(2) a Symphony in B flat which Mandyczewski thought was a kind of *Divertimento* or *Partita*; but Haydn himself, when drawing up the famous thematic catalogue of his works in 1805, listed the work as a symphony (No. 7 of the list), and there are half-a-dozen old manuscripts of the work scattered throughout Europe which show that the work really is a symphony.

(3) a lost symphony in D major, listed on page two of Haydn's so-called *Entwurf-Katalog* (Draft Catalogue) with its *incipit*. It is the only known Haydn symphony which has not survived.

Thus we have a total number of 107 rather than 104 symphonies. Mandyczewski's chronological order has likewise been superseded by more recent scholarly research. Mandyczewski set up his list on the perfectly valid principle of "placing each work in such a way that at all costs too early a dating was avoided". As new autograph manuscripts came to light, however, it was inevitable that many symphonies had to be back-dated. A new source of evidence for the dating proved to be the above-mentioned *Entwurf-Katalog*, in which Haydn entered his symphonies in blocks every few years. As far as the chronology of the works included in this present album is concerned, readers may find the following table useful, wherein we have arranged the works in chronological rather than numerical order, and it will be seen that Nos. 58 and 59 are very much out of place numerically.

Date of composition	*Number*	*Remarks*
c. 1766-1768	58, 59	Both works entered in the *Entwurf-Katalog* together with symphonies known to have been composed in 1767 and 1768. There are two manuscripts of No. 59 dated 1769 in the Benedictine Monasteries of Göttweig and Kremsmünster in Austria.
1774	57, 60	Autograph of No. 57 dated 1774. Performances of No. 60 at Eszterháza (Summer, 1774) and Pressburg (22 November 1774) by the Karl Wahr Troupe discussed in the *Pressburger Zeitung (vide infra)*.
c. 1775 (possibly a year or two earlier?)	64	Authentic MS. copy of the parts written on paper from the Princely Esterházy mill at Lockenhaus, University and City Library, Frankfurt-am-Main. The watermarks of this MS. show that the copy was made at the latest in 1775.
1776	61	Autograph dated 1776.
c. 1780	62, 63	Published by J. J. Hummel in 1781. The original performance material, in the Esterházy Archives, contains a holograph flute part for the first movement: this material cannot have been prepared before 18 November 1779, the day a huge fire destroyed all the performing material of Haydn's earlier symphonies. The MS. parts of Nos. 62, 70 and 63 must be the first works to be copied after the fire. No. 63 uses material from earlier music: the first movement is an adaptation of the Overture to *Il mondo della luna* (1777), and the first version of the Finale–later discarded–comes from an even earlier, partially lost symphony (composed before 1774). The final version, however, as we have recorded it, is that of the Esterházy material and it cannot precede November 18, 1779 while, on the other hand, we have two local manuscripts in Austrian monasteries (Melk and Göttweig) dated 1781.

Thus it will be seen that the music of our albums ranges from the middle of the 1760s to 1780 and provides us with a characteristic cross-cut of Haydn's symphonic activity as *Capellmeister* of Prince Esterházy's brilliant orchestra.

In May, 1761 Haydn was engaged as Vice *Capellmeister* to Prince Paul Anton Esterházy, who lived at Eisenstadt Castle most of the year, going to Vienna for Christmas and sometimes taking his musicians with him. The nominal *Capellmeister* was the old and crotchety Gregor Werner, who continued to run the church music; Haydn was in charge of the orchestra. At the time of Haydn's engagement, the band was considerably enlarged. Most of the players were proficient on more than one instrument: of the two new horn players engaged in 1763, both could play string bass instruments as well. In these early years, the regular instrumental group consisted of one flute, two oboes, two bassoons, two horns, three violins, one violoncello and Haydn (who sometimes joined the violins and sometimes conducted from the harpsichord). The Princely church music group also included a small nucleus of string players – a couple of violins, a cello and a double bass. The timpani player, Adam Sturm, was pensioned but could obviously be had for an occasional symphony with kettledrums. Later, the trumpet and timpani players were always recruited whenever necessary and were not regular members of Haydn's *instrumentarium*.

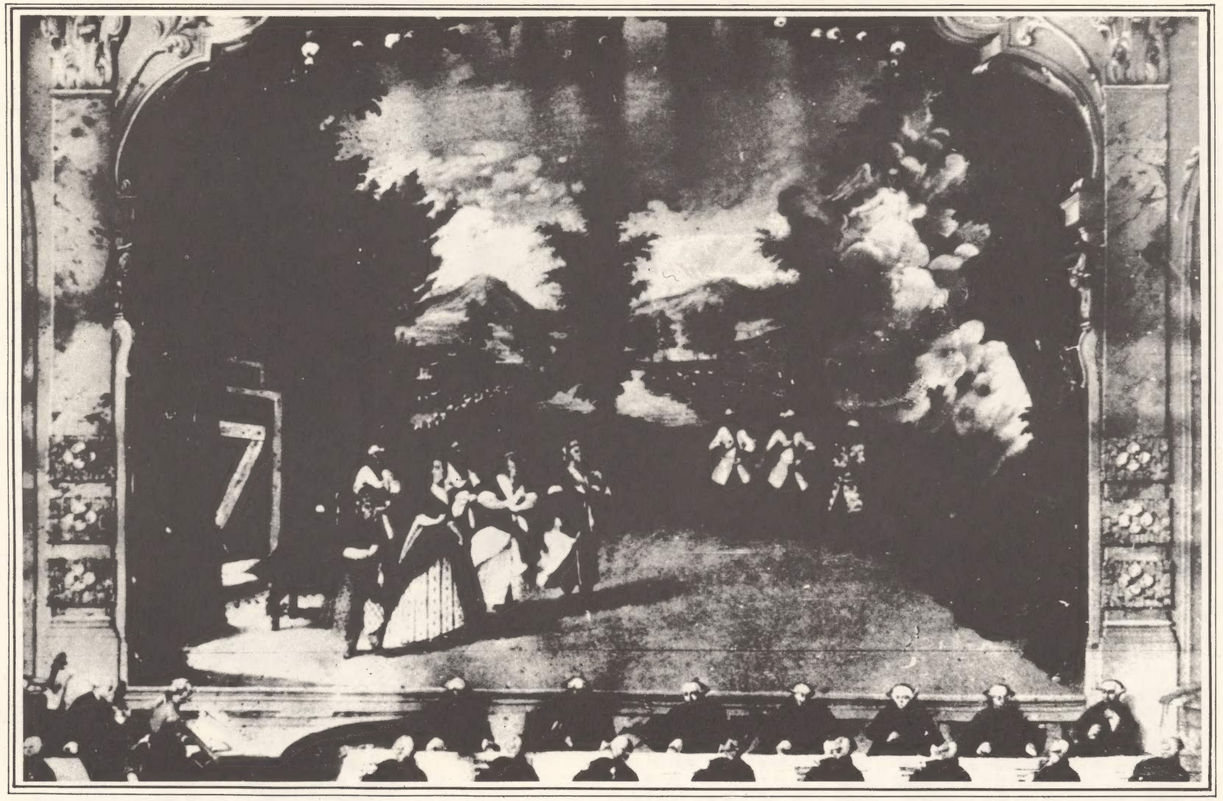
Gradually – especially when the new Castle at Eszterháza was opened – new string players had to be engaged permanently. Eszterháza was very lonely and there was no church group from which to borrow players; the nearest place was Oedenburg (now Sopron), and Haydn actually did borrow musicians from there when a great festival took place. By 1780, there were ten violinists (not including Haydn), two viola players, two cellists and two double bass players, apart from the usual woodwind and brass players.

In the early part of the 1760s, the band was regularly situated at Eisenstadt Castle, but they occasionally went to Kittsee Castle, a pretty residence across the Danube from Pressburg (now Bratislava, CSSR). A document of the year 1765, from the Esterházy Archives, tells us something of the circumstances under which most of Haydn's symphonies in the period 1761-1766 were first given. We read that Haydn is "to hold in our [Prince Esterházy's] absence two musical concerts every week in the Officers' room at Eisenstadt, *viz.* on Tuesdays and Saturdays from two to four o'clock in the afternoon. All the musicians are to appear . . .".

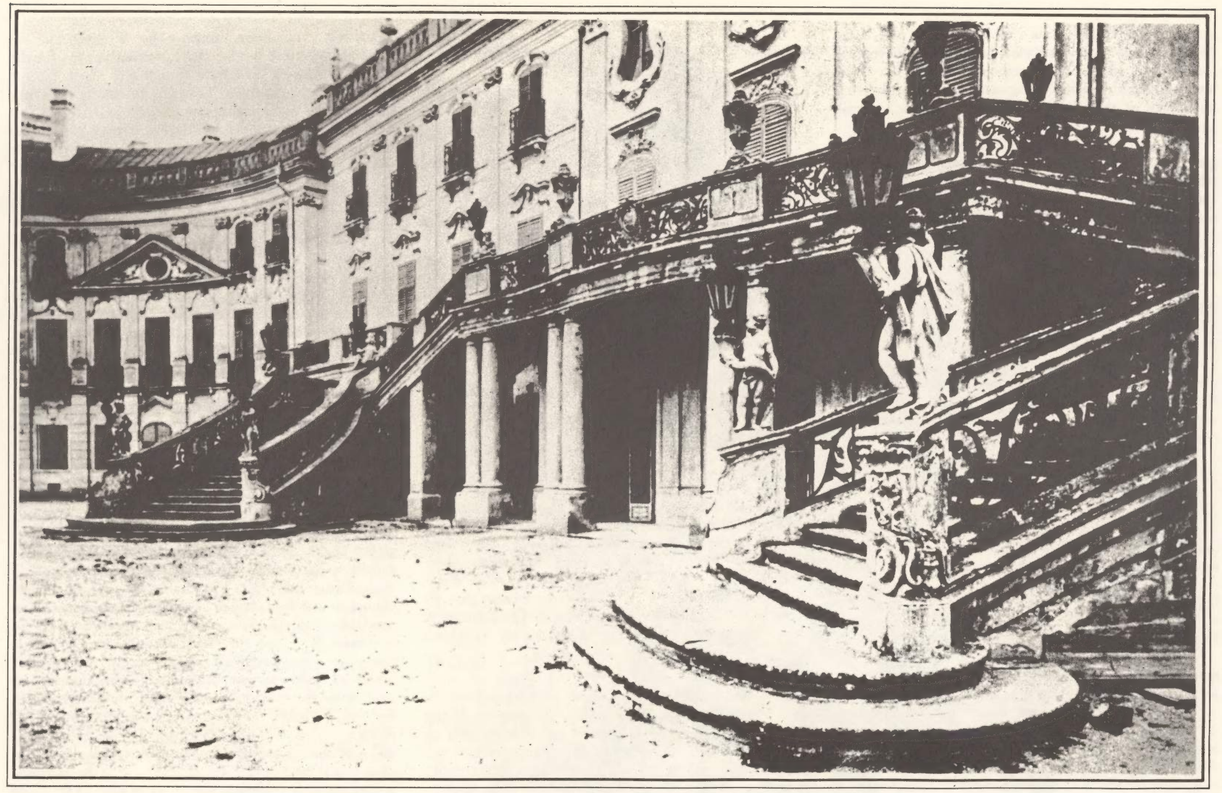
At Eszterháza, everything gradually came to centre round the opera house and, at the beginning, the elegant marionette theatre. Prince Paul Anton had died in 1762, to be succeeded by Prince Nicolaus (known as "The Magnificent"), under whom Haydn served till the Prince's death in 1790. Prince Nicolaus, a benevolent despot, was himself a good musician and encouraged Haydn in his far-reaching and occasionally extravagant experiments in the symphonic form. But Nicolaus's grand passion, apart from his fabulous diamond-studded uniforms, was opera; in 1768, the opera house was opened at Eszterháza and when it burned down in the disastrous fire of November 1779, Prince Nicolaus immediately set to work on a new and even larger one, which was opened on 25 February 1781 with the première of Haydn's *La fedeltà premiata*. From 1776 on, there was a regular operatic season at Eszterháza; previously, the operas produced had been exclusively by Haydn himself, but after 1776, he found himself becoming more and more an operatic *Capellmeister*. Prince Nicolaus preferred Italian *opera buffa*, and soon the theatre echoed to strains of Paisiello, Guglielmi, Gazzaniga, Cimarosa and Anfossi. Many new singers were engaged, including the pretty, dark-haired Italian soprano, Luigia Polzelli, whose husband was engaged as a violinist. Haydn fell madly in love with "la Polzelli" and the two carried on an open love affair in front of their respective spouses. Naturally, with all this operatic activity, Haydn had less and less time to compose, and after the enormously vital years of symphonic composition between 1761 and 1775, the symphony soon had to occupy a very minor rôle in Haydn's busy life. Actually he was very interested in opera as a form, and composed a great many very interesting stage works for Eszterháza.

Apart from the opera house, Haydn also conducted the musicians for the marionette operas in the puppet theatre; he also composed several works for that theatre, which was soon famous throughout Europe. Here, all the operas were done in the German language, and a chorus, from the local population, could be recruited. Haydn soon became so interested in puppet operas that he formed his own private marionette theatre to entertain people in Carnival time. Once, the Prince actually hired Haydn's puppet group to perform at a surprise birthday party for his "dear Princess". Apart from Italian opera and German marionette operas, Esterházy was fascinated with the spoken theatre and engaged whole troupes of strolling players to take up residence at the Castle for months at a time. The most famous of these strolling players was the Karl Wahr Troupe, who spent many happy summers at Eszterháza. Prince Nicolaus commissioned German translations of Shakespeare plays from Wahr, and Haydn was able to enjoy *King Lear, Hamlet, Richard III, etc.*, in special translations printed – like the operas and marionette pieces – at the Prince's expense in Oedenburg or Vienna. Haydn provided all the incidental music for the plays, and the Gotha *Theater-Kalender* lists "Capellmeister: Joseph Hayden" [*sic*] under the Wahr Troupe, "resident at His Highness, Prince Esterházy". Some of this incidental music, such as that to *Hamlet*, announced in the *Pressburger Zeitung* in 1774 has, alas, not survived. Some of the arrangements of other peoples' music which Haydn undertook, still exists: *e.g.* the music to *King Lear*, which Haydn reorchestrated and "dappered up" from an extant score by one Wilhelm Stegmann. And finally, some of this incidental music was turned into symphonies and has thus survived: we know that Nos. 60 and 63 were written as incidental music to plays given by Karl Wahr at Eszterháza, and we suspect the same of Nos. 59 and 65. As it happens, we have the total season's repertoire intact for Eszterháza Castle during the year 1778. It shows that concerts were given either for everyone, in the *sala terrena* (a lovely room, recently restored by the Hungarian authorities), or "nell'appartamento" of Prince Nicolaus – chamber music, in which the Prince often participated. On 10 March a group of strolling players, the Pauli Company, arrived and took up residence. From that date until three days before Christmas, there was a German play, an Italian opera, or a German marionette opera every night except at Easter and when the Prince was not in residence. They put on *Romeo and Juliet*, Goethe's *Stella*, a number of Italian operas including Dittersdorf's *Arcifanfano* and marionette operas including Haydn's *Dido*. On 28 October the Pauli Company gave their last performance and departed, to be succeeded in two days by the Diwald Troupe who, of course, brought with them a new repertoire, including Lessing's *Emilia Galotti* and Shakespeare's *Richard III*. In the year 1786, to choose a final example, Haydn conducted 125 operatic performances at Eszterháza, including a total of seventeen operas, eight of them premières; in 1788, he conducted 108 performances of seventeen (mostly different) operas,

JOSEPH HAYDN
Engraving by Johann Ernst Mansfeld, 1781 (published by Artaria & Co.). Collection of H. C. Robbins Landon, Buggiano Castello.



An opera performance at Eszterháza Castle with Haydn conducting from the harpsichord. It is believed to show Haydn's L'incontro improvviso *of 1775. Oil painting, the heads of the musicians in ivory, Theatermuseum, Munich.*



Eszterháza Castle. Photograph of the great staircase.

seven of them premières. Of all the great composers, none – not Verdi, not Puccini, not Gluck or Mozart – had an operatic routine of Haydn's scope.

The dissemination of Haydn's music at this time was gradually increasing until he soon found himself famous throughout Europe. In the 1760s, Paris had been the centre of music publishing, and Haydn's symphonies and quartets were published there in ever increasing quantity; but these were all pirated copies and in some cases, Haydn never even knew of their very existence. The principal method of circulating music in Central Europe was through professional copyists, and such a work as Symphony No. 72 was known in Europe (till it was belatedly published by Bland in London in an unreliable version in the late 1780s) by handwritten copies. Haydn himself did a certain amount of business selling his own "authentic" copies, and our textual knowledge of such a work as Symphony No. 67 rests on the set of MS. parts Haydn sent to the great Benedictine Abbey of Kremsmünster in Upper Austria. (Haydn's own set of parts was probably burned up in the fire of 1779.) But as the 1770s neared an end, printed music began, even on the Continent, to supersede handwritten copies; it is significant that such a work as Symphony No. 66 appears in manuscript at Göttweig Abbey in 1779 but the same year in a printed edition by the clever publisher, J. J. Hummel of Berlin and Amsterdam, who soon became a major source of Haydn's symphonies. Most of these Hummel prints were pirated editions, like the earlier ones in Paris, but we believe that Haydn managed to beat the Viennese copyists at their own game and sold Hummel six of his latest symphonies, Nos. 62, 63, 70, 71, 74 and 75, which appeared in 1781 and contain two of the symphonies here recorded. After this, Haydn took matters into his own hands and established permanent contact with publishers in Vienna, Paris and London, to whom he subsequently sold, often simultaneously, his latest symphonies, trios and quartets.

Symphony No. 57 in D. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns, strings, to the bass line of which has been added a bassoon *continuo*, as was standard performance practice in Haydn's orchestra of the time. When the work was announced in the Breitkopf thematic catalogue of 1774, its scoring also included two trumpets and kettledrums, instruments which Haydn may have added later. A timpani part from the Parish Church of Eibiswald has survived and appears to be authentic; but we have recorded the smaller version as found in Haydn's autograph.

The slow introduction (*Adagio*) with which the work begins was by no means standard practice in 1774; in those days, only the occasional symphony included one. Even as late as the "Paris" Symphonies – 1785 and 1786 – Haydn was not sure whether the slow introduction should become a regular feature: three of the "Paris" Symphonies open with one (Nos. 84, 85, 86) and three do not (Nos. 82, 83, 87). Subsequently, however, the slow introduction was permanently adopted in all except two (Nos. 89, 95) of the remaining symphonies Haydn composed. The same vacillation is to be found in Mozart's late symphonies, some ("Linz", K. 425; "Prague", K. 504, E flat, K. 543) having introductory adagios, and some (G minor, K. 550; "Jupiter", K. 551) not. Beethoven's First, Second and Fourth Symphonies begin with an introduction.

It would seem, in this brief *Adagio*, that the world of opera is not far from us – and comic opera, too. The little grace notes seem to be like a figure from the *commedia dell'arte* plucking our sleeves to remind us that the curtain is about to go up; and at bars 20ff. the short thrusts (*forte-piano*) of the strings with massed wind accompaniment are close to the language of the *opera buffa*. The main section – no marking in the autograph, but *allegro* is obviously meant – is sturdy, manly, with enormous rhythmic force, the bass line marching along in bouncing octave quavers. In the second subject group, notice how the accompanying bass line at bars 99ff. (with a beautiful, slow-moving second violin line) turns up in the recapitulation in the first horn as well (which, because of the

limitation of its technique could not have played the notes in A major): it is a typical passage, such as you can find often in Mozart and Beethoven, too, which shows how eighteenth-century composers made the technical limitations of their instruments work for, rather than against, the music.

The slow movement (*Adagio*) is a set of variations on a gentle theme wherein *pizzicato* chords alternate with ethereal bowed phrases. The whole movement is of an extraordinary purity and "classical" beauty – to use a much misused word – which is particularly striking, coming as it does after the bold and rather nervous strength of the opening *allegro*. It is innocent in a very moving way.

With the *Menuet* (*Allegretto*) we seem to be on the threshold of the waltz: the second violin actually has a Straussian accompaniment. There is something completely Austrian about this movement; it simply could not have been written in London or Paris or Rome. The end of the minuet proper is a series of *staccato* crotchets which finally thump up the D major triad. This triad proves, very cleverly, to be the link to the Trio, in the third-related key of B flat (very unusual).

The Finale (*Prestissimo*) is an extremely difficult *perpetuum mobile* built upon a traditional theme – it can be traced back as far as the *Canzon und Capriccio über dass Henner und Hannergeschrey* (Canzona and Capriccio on the Racket of Hen and Rooster) by Alessandro Poglietti (died 1683). In Haydn's racy and amusing Finale, there is a new dynamic mark: *mancando*, which is what we would now call *decrescendo*, which "falls" into *pp*. The extremely high level demanded of the string players from the technical point of view shows what a brilliant orchestra Haydn must have had.

Symphony No. 58 in F. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns, strings with bassoon and (in view of its early date – *vide supra*) harpsichord as part of the *continuo*.

No. 58 is a typically Austrian chamber symphony, whose delicate string writing and sophisticated use of the wind instruments are reflected in many products by Austrian composers of the period, such as Leopold Hofmann (Cathedral Chapel Master at St. Stephen's Cathedral) or Carlos d'Ordoñez (an official in the Lower Austrian Law Courts) – both composers who were well known to Haydn.

In the second movement, Haydn reverts to earlier practice and omits the wind parts entirely, thus accentuating the chamber musical atmosphere: the writing itself is also rather baroque, very often in just two parts, the harpsichord player being expected to fill in the harmonies.

The third movement is a most original *Menuet alla zoppa e trio (un poco allegretto)* – literally "limping", which Haydn accomplishes with a dotted rhythm which is deliberately pushed into all sorts of asymmetrical patterns. The Trio is a violent contrast, rather as if a group of slightly sinister gypsies had suddenly entered the feast: in a moment we are moved far into the world of the Balkans. One is reminded of an engraving of a huge festival at Eszterháza – brilliant uniforms and prancing

Carl (Karl) Wahr, actor and head of a famous theatrical company which spent many months of the 1770s in residence at Eszterháza Castle. Prince Nicolaus Esterházy commissioned from Wahr new translations of many Shakespeare plays, including Hamlet, King Lear, Richard III, *etc. Wahr was in residence at Eszterháza in 1774 and in the Summer gave the world première of Haydn's incidental music to* Der Zerstreute, *with Haydn himself conducting. Engraving by Q. Marc. National Library, Budapest.*

horses – which the National Library at Budapest owns: in the right-hand foreground is a group of gypsies playing (violins, double bass, *cimbalom*) and for some reason they provide an unsettling, rather incongruous note. It is not the last time that we meet Haydn's fascination with gypsy, or "Eastern European", atmosphere.

In the fast-moving (*Presto*) Finale, we would point out one passage of great harmonic daring which occurs twice, once at bars 37ff and again at bars 138ff, where Haydn leaps into a bold unison which is violently out of key: it is the same effect that you find at the beginning of the development in the Finale of Mozart's Symphony in G minor, K. 550.

Symphony No. 59 in A ("Fire"). Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns, strings, with bassoon and harpsichord *continuo* (see remarks to No. 57, *supra*).

The name of this Symphony, "Feuer" or "Feuersbrunst" (fire, holocaust), was for a long time a matter of speculation. On one Viennese MS. we find the work entitled "Feuer/Sinfonia". The secret is in fact revealed by another contemporary MS. from the Library of the Grand Dukes of Mecklenburg-Schwerin which bears the following note: "1774 für die Wahr'schen Truppe in Esterház [Eszterháza] an dem Stücke 'Die Feuersbrunst' als Zwischenactmusik geschrieben" (written in 1774 for the Wahr Troupe at Eszterháza as entr'acte music for the piece 'Die Feuersbrunst'). Now this interesting statement leads us into considerable complications. It is true that Wahr and his troupe had *Die Feuersbrunst* by Gustav Friedrich Wilhelm Grossmann (1746-1796) in their repertoire during the season 1773/74; we are informed of this from the *Geschichte der Schaubühne zu Pressburg* (Pressburg, 1793); it is also certain that they performed this play, which had been first published at Halle in 1773, for Prince Nicolaus during their long sojourn at Eszterháza. But as we have seen, Haydn composed the Symphony at least before 1769 (when we have dated manuscripts available). We suggest a relatively simple solution for the 1774 date: namely, that Haydn took his old Symphony and used it as incidental music for the new Grossmann play in 1774. This does not, however, tell us the circumstances under which the work was first composed.

It is, in any case, a highly original and theatrical piece. The acceleration, in the first movement (*Presto*), from quavers to semiquavers in the main theme (the violins hammering out the note 'A' repeatedly); the sudden shifts from *piano* to *forte*; the tremendous rhythmic intensity – it all seems to suggest music for the stage. The second movement is equally original. It begins for strings alone, in A minor, and is marked by Haydn's characteristic tempo, *Andante o più tosto allegretto*. It is a spiky and asymmetrical theme which suddenly swerves into C major (the relative major) and a lovely, singing theme, almost an aria from Italian opera. In the second part we modulate slowly back to a very long pedal point on the dominant (E) – and the music abruptly switches to A major and the beautiful *cantabile* theme we noticed before in C. Up to now it has seemed that this will be another of Haydn's slow movements for strings alone; but with the advent of A major, the wind instruments all at once join us. It is a lovely effect. But what are we to make of that shattering, *ff* horn call that interrupts the main theme (bars 115f.)? The main theme of the *Menuetto* is very strongly related to the principal tune of the slow movement. It is another instance of Haydn's constant attempt to weld the symphonic form into a cohesive whole.

The Finale (*Allegro assai*), with its rousing horn and oboe fanfares and its madly racing strings, was bound to be a smash hit. It is one of those Haydnish movements that contemporary British critics used to call "phrenzied"; it is also a movement so theatrical that one can almost smell the grease paint.

Symphony No. 60 in C ("Il distratto"). Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns in high C (C *alto*), 2 trumpets, kettledrums, strings (partly with two viola parts), bassoon with the *continuo*.

We first hear of this incidental music to a play by Jean François Regnard (1655-1709) entitled *Le Distrait* (Ger. *Der Zerstreute*, Ital. *Il distratto*) in an interesting article in the *Pressburger Zeitung* of 1774:

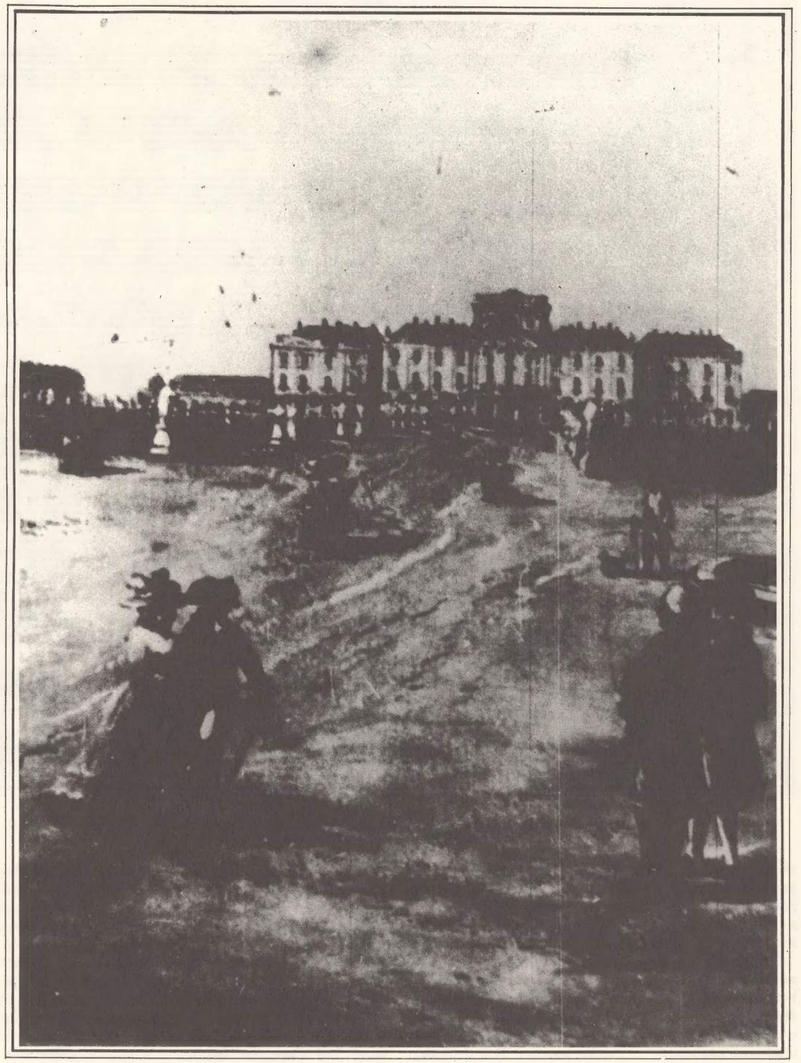
Esterház, June 30.

In the Prince's absence, the Prince of Modena visited Esterház accompanied by an Italian gentleman. This evening there will be a German comedy . . . tomorrow, *L'infedeltà delusa*, an Italian opera in two acts. The music is by Herr Joseph Hayden [sic]. This admirable composer has recently composed music for the comedy, *Der Zerstreutete*, which will be given by Herr Wahr's Company; connoisseurs consisider this music to be a masterpiece. It is full of the musical humour, the good spirits and the intelligence which characterize Haydenesque productions. The connoisseurs are on the one hand amazized, whilst on the other the public is simply enchanted, for Hayden knows how to satisfy both parties; from the most affected pompousness he drops into doggerel, and thus Hayden and Regnard vie wwith each other in producing *distrait* caprice [*wer am launischesten zerstrtreut*]. The play's value is thus much increased. The music describeses the content better and better as the play progresses, and as the actorsrs become ever more *distrait*. It is also expected that this experienced composer will write music to Shakespear's *Hamlet*

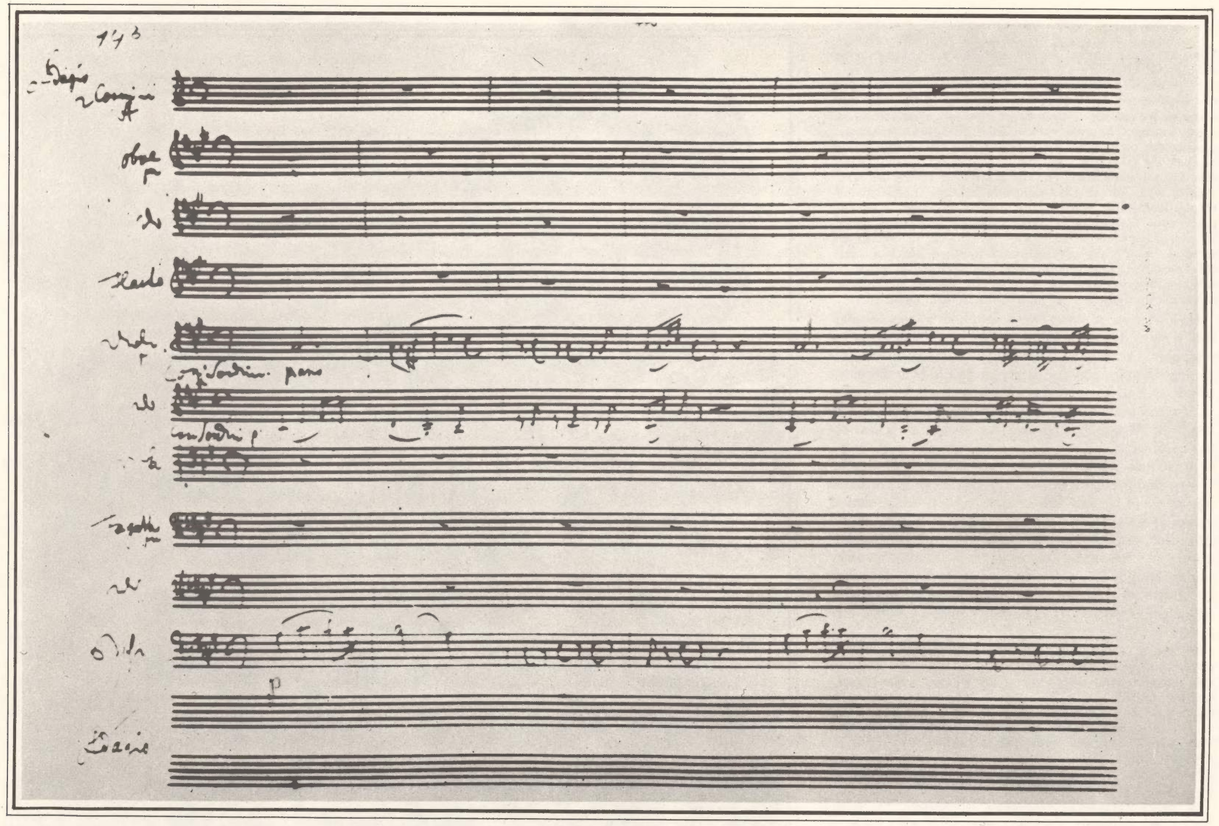
Haydn's overture and entr'acte music was so popular that he put them together to form a six-movement symphony, known as "*Il distratto*". As the *Pressburger Zeitung* suggests, Haydn's music really did help the play, which now achieved a burst of renewed success, basking (as it were) in the fame of Haydn's incidental music. In 1775, the Wahr Troupe took the new production to Salzburg, where it had a great success; and in January, 1776, it was launched in the Kärntnerthor Theater at Viennna (the papers commented on the "new, appropriate [muusic] . . . by the famous Jos. Haiden [sic.], chapel maastster in the service of Prince Esterházy"). Before Wahr embbarked on this tour, however, he took the whole trouupe to Pressburg, for it is, in modern theatrical circlcles, known as a "dry run". This was on Tuesday, 22 NNovember 1774. Naturally the *Pressburger Zeitung* was on hhand to review the play, and the next day it had this to saay:

Tuuesday, St. Cecilia's Day, *Der Zerstreute* was given. Herr von Haydden [sic] wrote a curious sort of music for it, which our readers will remember from earlier numbers of this paper. Suffice it to say here that it is admirable, most admirable, and that the Finale, upon incesssant applause of the audience, had to be repeated. In this number, whicich is most effective, allusion is made to the distracted gentleman who, on his Wedding Day, forgets that he is a bridegroom and has to remiind himself by tying a knot in his cravat. The musicians start the piece with great pomp, and it takes them some time to remember that their instruments are not tuned.

Scored for Haydn's customary C major orchestra, with high horns, trumpets and kettledrums, *Il distratto* has two more movements than the average symphony of the time. Possssibly as a new kind of experiment, Haydn turns to his beloved melodic source, the folk-song: the Symphony contains more traditional tunes than any other of his symphonic works. His idea of a "distraught" symphony was to pile folk-tunes one on top of the other without any connection, and in view of the play for which the musisic was written, he takes special pains to create an uproariously mad tonal picture. The first movement, with a majestic slow introduction (*Adagio*) very similar in character to that of Symphony No. 50 (written a year earlilier) is perfectly serious, and was undoubtedly intended as the overture to the evening's entertainment. In the midst of the exposition, however, occurs a remarkable dynamic effect, showing us that we may expect all sorts



Eszterháza Castle. Anonymous oil painting. National Library, Budapest (Esterházy Archives).

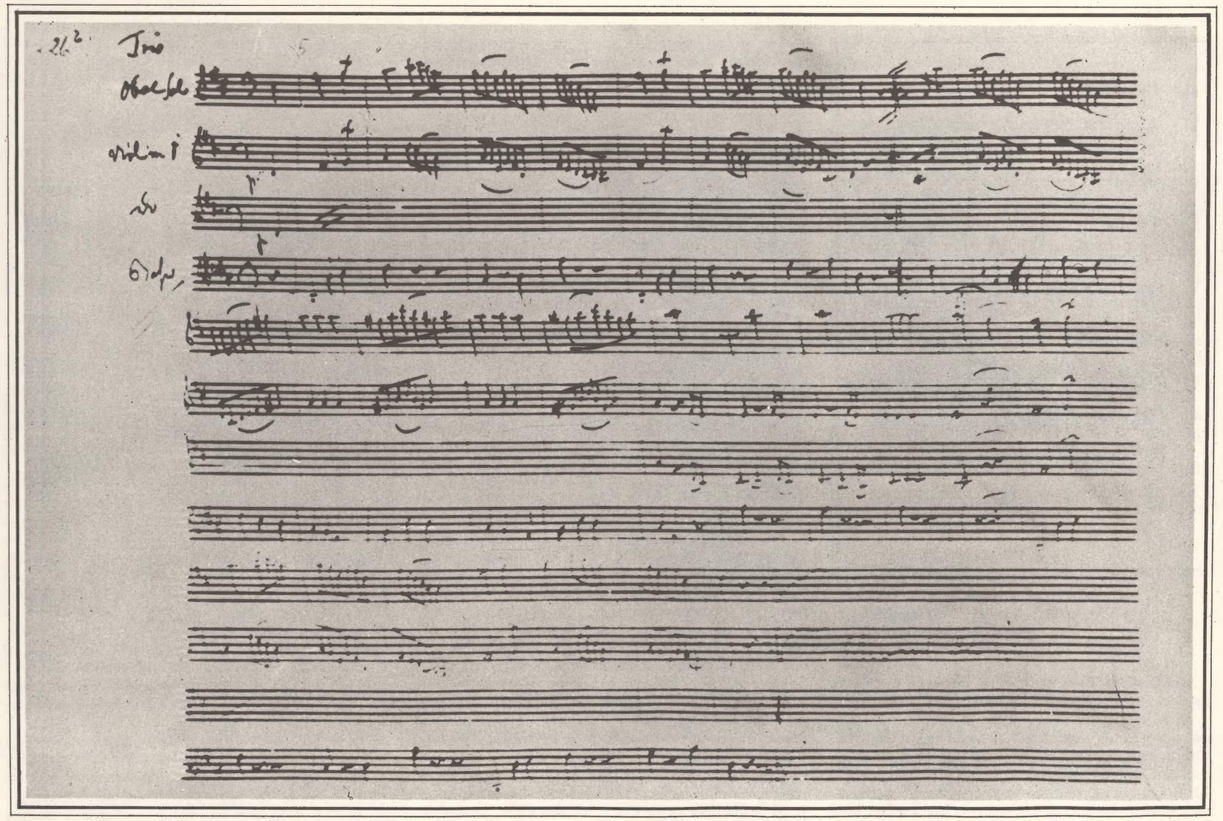


*Symphony No. 61 in D (1776), autograph manuscript, National Library, Budapest (Esterházy Archives). Beginning of the slow movement (*Adagio).

of surprises later in the evening: the score is marked *perdendosi* (literally: dying away), and the strings sink to near inaudibility, followed by a sudden *forte*; in the recapitulation, the thunder of the kettledrums adds to the surprise.

The second movement is already saturated with the spirit of the evening. The decorous opening theme is broken off by rude fanfares, given to oboes, horns and divided violas – the first instance of the latter in a Haydn symphony, by the way. The fanfare instruments do not otherwise contribute to the movement. This dualistic, *zerstreute* principle is continued throughout the *Andante*; once the horns forget their role and scream across the texture in a fanfare of their own, curiously similar to the horn interruption in the second movement of Symphony No. 59, mentioned above. In the middle of the second section, there appears a new melody which is simply announced and promptly dropped; in the old French editions of the Symphony, the first violin part carried a note, printed under this theme, "Ancien chant français".

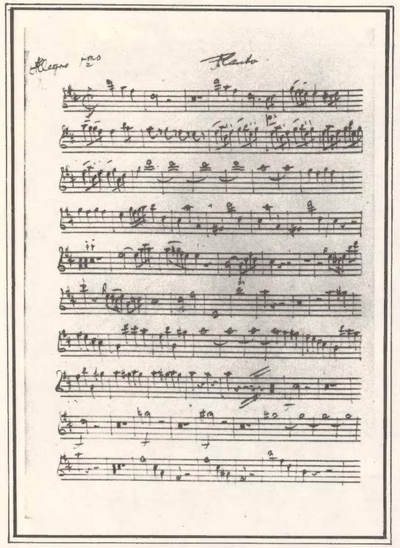
The trio of the ensuing minuet turns to the Balkans for its melodic inspirations, with Hungarian alternations of tonic and dominant minor: a similar practice was observed in the Trio of Symphony No. 58. But it is the next movement where everything happens. This *Presto*, in C minor, seems at first to be constructed along the lines of the nervous, tense and headlong finales of Symphonies Nos. 49, 52 or 59; a highly rhythmic first subject leads, upon its entry into the relative major, to furious repeated semiquavers in the violins with a marching bass line in quavers. In the second part, Haydn begins to hurl Balkan melodies at us; in the middle of one of these, the music jumps from F minor to E flat major, making simultaneous parallel fifths and octaves, and the stamping, peasant dance is continued without interruption in the new key. Instead of a recapitulation, Haydn turns to the



Symphony No. 61 in D. Beginning of the Trio.

tonicc major, and the brass and drums enter, supporting a new Slavonic melody. This is perhaps the most characteristtic Balkan tune of all, and with it Haydn rushes headdlong to a close.

The beautiful F major *Adagio* bears the subtitle "di Lamentatione" in old manuscript parts in the Benedictine Monnastery of Melk. It has not been possible, however, to identntify the Gregorian (?) melody which Haydn used as the b basis for this movement. Oboe and violin intone the sweeet, grave melody, but in the midst of this visit to still, Goththic cloisters, the horns, trumpets and drums (previoususly silent in this movement) charge into the sequestered calm with a frightful, war-like fanfare, dragging the rest of the orchestra with them. Some experts think that this represents the entrance of the fake courier in the last scene of the play. (The way Haydn takes the wind out of the fanfare's sails by silly, deadpan *pizzicati* would seem to support this theory.) At the end of the movement, Haydn takes a small motif and repeats it eight times, placing the word "Allegro" after the fourth entry, so that there is no doubt that we are witnessing on paper one of the first attempts to write an *accelerando*. The effect is delightfully bizarre, but the Finale has new and even more insane tricks in store for us. Starting out like the *moto perpetuo* of Symphony No. 41's or 56's Finale – *Prestissimo*, with triplet quavers in two-four time – the music barely gets under way before everything stops dead in order that the violinists may tune their instruments, their G-strings having been found to be F-strings! The music proceeds and then again breaks off, this time to introduce a favourite Slavonic melody which Haydn himself had used in an earlier *Divertimento a Nove* (*c.* 1761) – it is a strange, secret tune which again is slightly frightening. But here, we have no time for shadows, and the music races along to its brilliant and breathtaking conclusion.



Autograph flute part to Symphony No. 62 in D. National Museum, Budapest (Esterházy Archives).

Symphony No. 61 in D. Scoring: one flute, 2 oboes, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, kettledrums, strings.

With Symphony No. 61, the world of the opera seems particularly close. The very beginning of the work, with its repeated intervals of a third, reminds us of the Turkish music to Haydn's last opera, *L'incontro improvviso,* which had been an enormous success at its first performance, during the Summer of 1775, in the brilliant little theatre at Eszterháza. (The repeated thirds, c-e-c-e *etc.,* were associated in people's minds with Turkish, *i.e.* exotic, Eastern music; you find them in Mozart's Overture to *Entführung.*) The first movement almost sounds as if it were the Overture to a merry *opera buffa.* There is a delicious second theme, consisting of repeated quavers in the woodwind and strings *pizzicati,* to which the flute soon adds a sinewy *legato* line. The repeated notes, first in the oboes, then in the horns, reappear in the closing material of the exposition. When the second subject returns in the recapitulation, the bottom repeated quavers are, daringly, given to the second horn, which has to "stop" the sounding low G's of his instrument (*i.e.* insert the hand into the bell, which lowers the tone by as much as a whole note – nowadays, of course, with valved horns, this is no problem).

The second movement omits, as is customary, the kettledrums. It is a songful and beautifully paced *Adagio,* with long, flowing lines in the first violins (*e.g.* bars 13ff.). The last section before the double bar is highly original: the music, instead of going to the dominant, goes to the dominant minor, and over a rich tapestry of inner voices (long held notes in first bassoon and flute), a wistful, almost haunting melody enters; it modulates into C major and back again in a way that astonishingly foretells Schubert. The same passage comes again at the end of the movement, in A minor, with the horns also accompanying this time (again with a "stopped" note in the second horn, at bar 125).

The sturdy *Menuet,* with the timpani back again, has a delicious wind band solo in the second part, the lower strings providing a "push" at the beginning of each bar, and even the timpani softly accompanying. The trio is, suddenly, a tiny piece of chamber music: solo oboe, the two violins and the bass line.

The *Finale,* another very quick movement marked *Prestissimo,* is in "hunting" time, six-eight (we will meet six-eight in its official guise, as *La Chasse,* in Symphony No. 73). It is a typical Haydnesque rondo, with a "B" section in the tonic minor. Some of the violin writing is exceedingly difficult, *e.g.* the dashing duet between first and second violins unaccompanied (bars 34-50), and the long lead-back at bars 150ff, where the first violins are mostly alone. It is a heartily extrovert movement, perhaps designed to show off the virtuoso orchestra for some visiting celebrity.

Symphony No. 62 in D. Scoring: 1 flute, 2 oboes, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, strings.

The history of the first movement of No. 62 is an interesting one. It began life in the year 1777 as the Overture (*Sinfonia,* as it was invariably called in Italian) to some unknown opera or marionette piece at Eszterháza Castle. Haydn fussed over it considerably and then rewrote it completely, changing inner parts and in general making it less operatic in character. Score readers can see the original version (not completely preserved) and the later one in Volume V of the complete Haydn symphonies in the Philharmonia series. The reason that Haydn wished to make it less operatic, less of a "curtain raiser," is because he wanted to use it as a Finale, which he did: to Symphony No. 53's second version. But the idea of the little piece as an opener rather than a Finale haunted him, and about 1780 he used it for the third time, as the beginning to Symphony No. 62. He changed the opening material considerably and added a flute part, in his own hand, to the original performance material for Eszterháza. By this time, however, Symphony No. 53, in the version with our movement as a Finale, started to circulate all over Europe: it turned out to be Haydn's most popular work. Naturally, all this caused some confusion among musicians such as those in London; and this may explain why the British publisher Forster published the work beginning with the second movement, that is, omitting the first entirely. Can this have been the original form of the work? Note that the "slow" movement, a wonderfully subtle, highly original *Allegretto* is (1) not really a "slow" movement; (2) it is in the tonic; (3) it is *so* different from most other slow movements of the period that we wonder if it were not, actually, the original opening or, alternatively, perhaps an entr'acte in some play.

The solid, rather densely scored *Menuet* is matched by a Trio in the subdominant (G major) scored for bassoon solo and strings. The Finale (*Allegro*) is again very operatic: note all those grace notes and syncopated figures, especially the very amusing *opera buffa* lead-back to the recapitulation (from bars 103ff.), where we expect Leporello to enter at any moment.

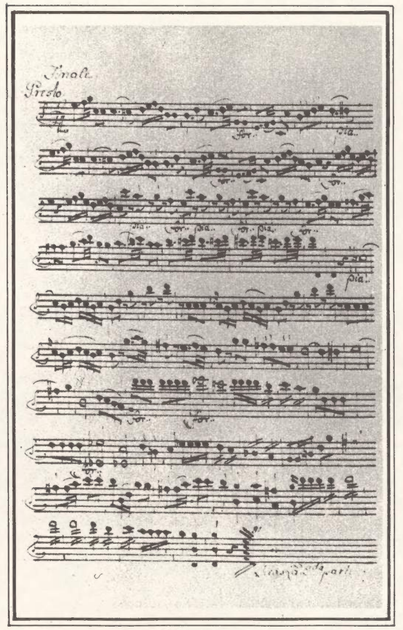
Symphony No. 63 in C ("La Roxolane"). Version of Eszterháza Castle c. 1780 with the scoring: 1 flute, 2 oboes, 1 bassoon, 2 horns, strings.

Readers of these notes, and those who know Haydn's own operas (now being successfully rescued from undeserved oblivion), will know how much the stage effected his symphonic thought in the second half of the 1770s and early part of the 1780s. Sometimes, we think we are *hearing* operatic influences, as in such a movement as the opening of No. 61, discussed above. With No. 63, we have a concrete example of the proximity of Haydn's symphonies to the Eszterháza opera house.

The season at Eszterháza in 1777 featured, as so often, the presence of the Wahr Troupe. Haydn was busy with preparations for his new opera, *Il mondo della luna* (libretto: Carlo Goldoni), which was first performed on 3 August 1777. The marionette theatre was invited to give guest appearances at Schönbrunn Castle in July; Haydn did not go, busy as he was training the Italian singers for *Mondo* (the marionette troupe sang at Schönbrunn in German: they did Ordoñez's *Alceste* and Haydn's *Hexen-Schabbas*). The Wahr Troupe therefore left Eszterháza in July and went to Eisenstadt and Pressburg; it turned out that this was to be their last appearance at Eszterháza, and after their departure, Haydn's interest in writing incidental music seems to have waned.

One of the pieces that Wahr had in his repertoire was *Soliman II, oder Die drei Sultaninnen* (after C. S. Favart's *Les trois sultanes*), and when Haydn, sometime before July 1777, decided to supply incidental music to the play, he had very little time and hastily put together music, mostly from pieces already composed. The first movement he took from the new Overture to *Il mondo della luna*; for the second movement he composed a delightful movement entitled "La Roxolane", the heroine of the play; and for the Finale, he took the last movement of a big C major symphony of which only the minuet and last movement survive. Nothing of this original version has survived; the orchestral parts, along with many of the valuable Cremonese instruments, were burned up in the great fire of November, 1779. Subsequently, Haydn made a symphony out of the incidental music, which he probably put together in 1780 (copies were circulating in Austria by 1781), or in any case not before November 1779. He now drastically changed the orchestration of the *Mondo* Overture (which had included oboes, bassoons, horns, trumpets, kettledrums and strings) and rewrote the

From the original performance material to Symphony No. 63 in C (La Roxolane) *in the Esterházy Archives of the Budapest National Museum. Earlier version of the Finale, cancelled. Violin I.*



From the original performance material to Symphony No. 63 in C (La Roxolane). *Final version of the Finale in the hand of Haydn's copyist Joseph Elssler. Violin I. It is this version which has been recorded in this album.*

piecce for one flute, two oboes, one bassoon, two horns and strings. He then added a new minuet, with the same orchestration (except that the horns are in high C) and crosssed out the Finale (which he felt was perhaps too *Sturm und Drang,* too old fashioned) in the parts and wrote a neew one in the taste of 1780, which his copyist Joseph Elssleler inserted in the orchestral material. The new symphony proved to be a huge success: there are dozens of MMS. sources throughout Central Europe, and the work was rapidly printed in Paris, London, Berlin, Amsterdam and in a piano reduction by Torricella of Vienna. The centtral part of the work, from which it gets its name, and whicich is the most interesting movement, is *"La Roxolane":* a shadowy, pixie-like theme in C minor, balanced by the same theme in the major, and in this black-and-whitaite presentation, we have double variations (as the *terminminus technicus* reads) which finally end in a burst of C major grandeur. It must have brought the house down at Eszterháza and is a fitting farewell to Karl Wahr, that talented man-of-the-theatre with whom Haydn had worked so closely for many years.

Symphony No. 64 in A ("Tempora mutantur"). Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns, strings with bassoon as part of the *continuo.*

No one has been able to explain the enigmatic title of this highly original chamber symphony: the title is undoubtedly genuine, for it appears on the authentic parts prepared at Eszterháza and sent to Germany (they are now in the University Library at Frankfurt-am-Main). The orchestral writing is beautifully transparent, with the horn parts lying high and lending a touch of brilliance to the overall colour; the string writing is particularly felicitous here. The motif heard in the first *tutti,* and there given to the basses and violas, dominates a large part of the movement, crossing from top to bottom of the orchestra. The entire opening *Allegro con spirito* is again one of those "phrenzied" pieces of music, sensitive and nervous as a thoroughbred always is, which are so peculiarly Haydnish.

The beauty and warmth of the *Largo,* with its curious form (no double bars at all, *durchkomponiert*) and wide range of dynamics, is immediately apparent. It is as broad and slowly paced as the opening movement was quick and darting. The ending, *pianissimo,* is particularly lovely, with the second horn way down at the bottom of its range and the first horn (with viola) suddenly taking the melody away from the violins. The orchestral texture of the whole movement is dense.

With the gay and spirited *Menuet,* we return to the transparent texture of this very Austrian chamber symphony. The Trio has light-textured solo passages for the horns and oboes, while the Finale has an asymmetry and enigmatic formal quality that make it one of the most interesting and original rondos of the period. It is intellectual music *par excellence,* designed for what must have been one of the most intelligent, musically cultivated and culturally educated audiences that ever existed.

H. C. Robbins Landon,
Buggiano Castello,
July, 1969

Also available in this series:

Haydn Symphonies 65-72
Philharmonia Hungarica conducted by
Antal Dorati
STS 15135/8

Photo credits: Josef Vouk, Vienna; the Malvisi Archives

Haydn: The Symphonies (65-72)
The Philharmonia Hungarica conducted by
Antal Dorati

SIDE ONE

SYMPHONY No.65 in A major

1. Vivace e con spirito
2. Andante
3. Menuetto e trio
4. FINALE: Presto

SIDE TWO

SYMPHONY No.66 in B flat major

1. Allegro con brio
2. Adagio
3. Menuetto e trio
4. FINALE: Scherzando e presto

SIDE THREE

SYMPHONY No.67 in F major

1. Presto
2. Adagio
3. Menuetto e trio
4. FINALE: Allegro di molto
   –Adagio e cantabile–Primo tempo

SIDE FOUR

SYMPHONY No.68 in B flat major

1. Vivace
2. Menuetto e trio
3. Adagio cantabile
4. FINALE: Presto

SIDE FIVE

SYMPHONY No.69 in C major "Laudon"

1. Vivace
2. Un poco adagio più tosto andante
3. Menuetto e trio
4. FINALE: Presto

SIDE SIX

SYMPHONY No.70 in D major

1. Vivace con brio
2. Specie d'un canone in contrapunto doppio–Andante
3. Menuet e trio–Allegretto
4. FINALE: Allegro con brio

SIDE SEVEN

SYMPHONY No.71 in B flat major

1. Adagio–Allegro con brio
2. Adagio
3. Menuetto e trio
4. FINALE: Vivace

SIDE EIGHT

SYMPHONY No.72 in D major

1. Allegro
2. Andante
3. Menuet e trio
4. FINALE: Thema con variazioni: Andante–Presto

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Antal Dorati

Altaffer

Antal Dorati

Antal Dorati was born in Budapest in 1906, and his parents, both musicians, recognised his talents and sent him at the age of fourteen to the Academy of Music in Budapest. His teachers Zoltan Kodály, Béla Bartók and Leo Weiner. He graduated at eighteen as composer, pianist and conductor, and was the youngest person in the history of the Academy to receive a degree.

Soon after, he was appointed conductor of the Royal Opera House in Budapest, where he worked for four years. In 1928 he went to Dresden as the assistant of Fritz Busch. Between 1928 and 1933 he was principal conductor of the Opera House in Munster, at the same time appearing as guest conductor at several other Opera Houses in Germany, and with orchestras in many major musical centres.

In 1934 he joined the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo, and seven years later was appointed Musical Director of the Ballet Theatre. Meanwhile in 1937 he made his American debut as a symphonic conductor at an all-Beethoven concert with the National Symphony Orchestra of Washington D.C., and during 1939-40 made an extensive tour of Australia. Returning to the States, Dorati became Director of the New Opera Company in New York.

In 1945 he left the Ballet Theatre and was charged with the organisation of the Dallas Symphony Orchestra, and in 1949 he became Musical Director of the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra, and during his eleven years with them, he was responsible for numerous commissions, world premieres, and American premieres of important works.

From 1963 to 1966 Antal Dorati was Chief Conductor to the BBC Symphony Orchestra, and took the orchestra on a tour of Switzerland in October 1964, and the United States in the Spring of 1965. He has also made a return to opera, and conducts guest performances at Covent Garden, London, the Weiner Staatsoper, the Opera House, Rome, the Hamburg Opera and Maggio Musicale in Florence. He is now principal conductor of the Stockholm Philharmonic Orchestra and with him the orchestra made its first tour of the United States in 1968 with such success that a return tour was arranged for 1970.

When the Philharmonia Hungarica was formed in Vienna in 1957, from refugee musicians who had fled Hungary during the 1956 revolution, Antal Dorati was one of the orchestra's first conductors. He made several recordings with them during this period, so that the London project of recording the complete Haydn symphonies with Dorati and the Philharmonia Hungarica represents the renewal of a long-standing association.

Philharmonia Hungarica

Among the hundreds of thousands of refugees who left their home country during the Hungarian Revolution in the late Autumn of 1956 were many musicians, who set out for the free world with their instruments as their only possessions. It was yet another instance of the tragic tradition of the Hungarian history of culture, which, over two decades ago, Béla Bartók summed up in these poignant words: ". . . One must get away from here, no matter where to . . .".

From among these exiled musicians, who, almost without exception, came from the leading Hungarian Symphony Orchestras – as for example the Hungarian National Philharmonia, the Budapest Radio Orchestra and State Opera Orchestra – the Philharmonia Hungarica was formed in Vienna, in the Spring of 1957, thanks to the spontaneous and generous assistance of several philanthropic organizations, mainly the Congress for the Freedom of Culture, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the International Rescue Committee and the Swiss Committee for Aid to the Freedom Fighters of Hungary.

Soon the artists resumed their serious artistic work, which, in a very short time, assured a leading place for this ensemble in the international music world.

The enthusiastic approval met with again and again by them during their many tours in Europe and North America, as well as during musical festivals, is a proof of the importance and vitality of this orchestra.

It is all to the credit of the cultural policy of the Federal German Republic, the regions of North Rhine-Westphalia and the city of Marl, to have recognized the unique value of the Philharmonia Hungarica, and, through generous financial assistance, to have assured the continued existence of an internationally appreciated orchestra.

Many of the members of the Orchestra are winners of valuable music prizes and have successfully taken part in international music competitions. The Ramor Quartet, consisting of instrumentalists from the string sections, gained first prize in the Geneva International Music Competition in 1957, and in 1962 the same prize was awarded to the Wind Quintet of the Philharmonia Hungarica.

Several of the members of the Philharmonia Hungarica were attracted to the career of soloist, others distinguished themselves through invitations to perform with renowned European and American Orchestras. And yet they all resolved, out of a sense of artistic integrity and patriotism, to remain loyal to the commitment of their own orchestra.

As an instance of the reputation enjoyed by the Orchestra with international audiences and press, let me quote the words which a Greek critic wrote on the occasion of a series of concerts at the 1962 Athens International Festival: "Our country – Music! That is the message of religious and patriotic faith one almost hears at a performance of the Philharmonia Hungarica. One also gets the impression that these men and women, who were forced to leave their country against their will, have brought with them, and preserved, not only the music, but – a particle of their home country!"

Notes on Symphonies 65-72 by H. C. Robbins Landon

The symphonies recorded in this album represent nowadays some of the most unknown of all Haydn's 107 works in the form, for until the recent scholarly edition published by the Haydn-Mozart Press of the Universal Edition, a great many of these symphonies were not available in any modern edition – indeed, some, such as Symphonies Nos. 58, 59, 66 or 68, had never been printed since Haydn's lifetime. It is, for example, believed that the present recording of Symphony No. 68 in B flat represents the first performance of the work in living (or recorded) memory.

A word must be said on the subject of the numbering used for Haydn's symphonies. In 1907, Eusebius von Mandyczewski prepared the first chronological list of authentic symphonies for the now defunct Collected Edition of Haydn's works projected by the famous Leipzig publishing house, Breitkopf & Härtel. He included 104 works. To this we now add three definitely authentic works which Mandyczewski purposely omitted, *viz.*:

(1) a symphony in B flat major hitherto listed among the string quartets, where it figured as Opus 1, No. 5. Recent research has, however, proved that the work was composed as a symphony, with oboe and horn parts, and was inserted as a quartet by a Parisian publisher called de la Chevardière.

(2) a symphony in B flat which Mandyczewski thought was a kind of *Divertimento* or *Partita;* but Haydn himself, when drawing up the famous thematic catalogue of his works in 1805, listed the work as a symphony (No. 7 of the list), and there are half-a-dozen old manuscripts of the work scattered throughout Europe which show that the work really is a symphony.

(3) a lost symphony in D major, listed on page two of Haydn's so-called *Entwurf-Katalog* (Draft Catalogue) with its *incipit*. It is the only known Haydn symphony which has not survived.

Thus we have a total number of 107 rather than 104 symphonies. Mandyczewski's chronological order has likewise been superseded by more recent scholarly research. Mandyczewski set up his list on the perfectly valid principle of "placing each work in such a way that at all costs too early a dating was avoided". As new autograph manuscripts came to light, however, it was inevitable that many symphonies had to be back-dated. A new source of evidence for the dating proved to be the abovementioned *Entwurf-Katalog*, in which Haydn entered his symphonies in blocks every few years. As far as the chronology of the works included in this present album is concetned, readers may find the following table useful, wherein we have arranged the works in chronological rather than numerical order. It will be seen that No. 72 is the most misplaced of all – actually it is the most misplaced of the entire 104 (107).

Date of composition	*Number*	*Remarks*
c. 1763-1765	72	Similar in structure to the famous Symphony No. 31 "Mit dem Hornsignal", which also uses four rather than the usual two horns, No. 72 would seem to be a study for the other work. The Esterházy band was enlarged by two more horn players in 1763, in which year Haydn composed what appears to be his first symphony with four horns: No. 13 in D (autograph dated 1763).
c. 1771-1773	65	Entered in the *Entwurf-Katalog* together with symphonies known to have been composed in 1772, *e.g.* Nos. 45 & 46.
c. 1778	66, 67, 68, 69	Copy of No. 66 in Göttweig Abbey dated 1779; Nos. 66/68 printed by J. J. Hummel in Berlin-Amsterdam in the year 1779; copy of No. 69 dated 1779 at Göttweig Abbey.
1779	70	Authentic MS. parts in the Esterházy Archives used by Haydn himself and with a holograph timpani part are dated December 18, 1779.
c. 1779-1780	71	One set of MS. parts in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde (Vienna) is dated 1780 and may even mean – contrary to usual practice – the date of composition: the way the date is indicated on the MS. would seem to suggest this. In any case, Göttweig owns a copy dated 1781.

Thus it will be seen that the music of our album ranges from the middle of the 1760s to 1780 and provides us with a characteristic cross-cut of Haydn's symphonic activity as *Capellmeister* of Prince Esterházy's brilliant orchestra.

In May, 1761 Haydn was engaged as Vice *Capellmeister* to Prince Paul Anton Esterházy, who lived at Eisenstadt Castle most of the year, going to Vienna for Christmas and sometimes taking his musicians with him. The nominal *Capellmeister* was the old and crotchety Gregor Werner, who continued to run the church music; Haydn was in charge of the orchestra. At the time of Haydn's engagement, the band was considerably enlarged. Most of the players were proficient on more than one instrument: of the two new horn players engaged in 1763, both could play string bass instruments as well. In these early years, the regular instrumental group consisted of one flute, two oboes, two bassoons, two horns, three violins, one violoncello and Haydn (who sometimes joined the violins and sometimes conducted from the harpsichord). The Princely church music group also included a small nucleus of string players – a couple of violins, a cello and a double bass. The timpani player, Adam Sturm, was pensioned but could obviously be had for an occasional symphony with kettledrums. Later, the trumpet and timpani players were always recruited whenever necessary and were not regular members of Haydn's *instrumentarium*. For the first performance of Symphony No. 72, Haydn obviously took advantage of the two new horn players engaged in 1763. His orchestra for the work consisted of one flute, two oboes, one bassoon (the other probably doubled the bass throughout), four horns, five violins and viola players (six if Haydn played the violin), two violoncellos and a double bass (or *violone*, as it was called, tuned differently from today, with the lowest string contra C, not E). Probably one of Haydn's composition pupils or the organist played the harpsichord if Haydn did not. In any case, it was a small chamber orchestra; yet, even a small group makes a glorious sound in the echoing vastness of the high-ceilinged "great hall" in Eisenstadt Castle.

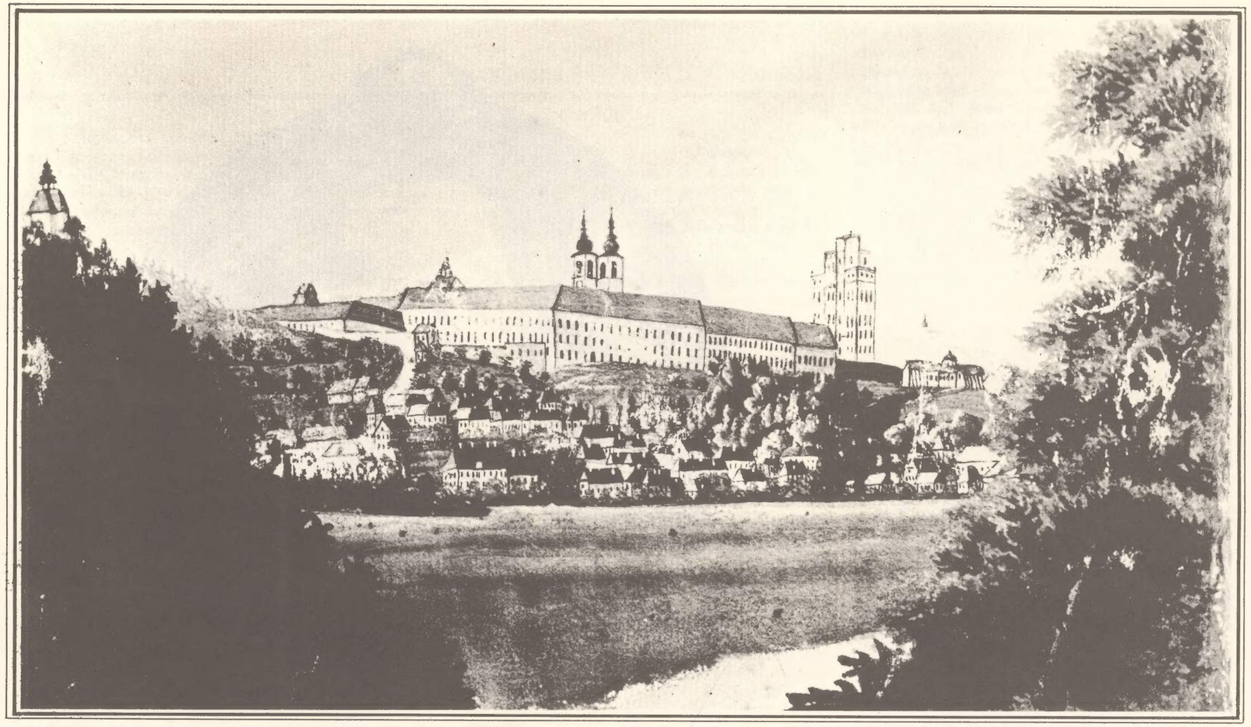
Gradually – especially when the new Castle at Eszterháza was opened – new string players had to be engaged permanently. Eszterháza was very lonely and there was no church group from which to borrow players; the nearest place was Oedenburg (now Sopron), and Haydn actually did borrow musicians from there when a great festival took place. By 1780, there were ten violinists (not including Haydn), two viola players, two cellists and two double bass players, apart from the usual woodwind and brass players.

In the early part of the 1760s, the band was regularly situated at Eisenstadt Castle, but they occasionally went to Kittsee Castle, a pretty residence across the Danube from Pressburg (now Bratislava, CSSR). A document of the year 1765, from the Esterházy Archives, tells us something of the circumstances under which most of Haydn's symphonies in the period 1761-1766 were first given. We read that Haydn is "to hold in our [Prince Esterházy's] absence two musical concerts every week in the Officers' room at Eisenstadt, *viz.* on Tuesdays and Saturdays from two to four o'clock in the afternoon. All the musicians are to appear . . .".

At Eszterháza, everything gradually came to centre round the opera house and, at the beginning, the elegant marionette theatre. Prince Paul Anton had died in 1762, to be succeeded by Prince Nicolaus (known as "The Magnificent"), under whom Haydn served till the Prince's death in 1790. Prince Nicolaus, a benevolent despot, was himself a good musician and encouraged Haydn in his far-reaching and occasionally extravagant experiments in the symphonic form. But Nicolaus's grand passion, apart from his fabulous diamond-studded uniforms, was opera; in 1768, the opera house was opened at Eszterháza and when it burned down in the disastrous fire of November 1779, Prince Nicolaus immediately set to work on a new and even larger one, which was opened on 25 February 1781 with the première of Haydn's *La fedeltà premiata*. From 1776 on, there was a regular operatic season at Eszterháza; previously, the operas produced had been exclusively by Haydn himself, but after 1776, he found himself becoming more and more an operatic *Capellmeister*. Prince Nicolaus preferred Italian *opera buffa*, and soon the theatre echoed to strains of Paisiello, Guglielmi, Gazzaniga, Cimarosa and Anfossi. Many new singers were engaged, including the pretty, dark-haired Italian soprano, Luigia Polzelli, whose husband was engaged as a violinist. Haydn fell madly in love with "la Polzelli" and the two carried on an open love affair in front of their respective spouses. Naturally, with all this operatic activity, Haydn had less and less time to compose, and after the enormously vital years of symphonic composition between 1761 and 1775, the symphony soon had to occupy a very minor rôle in Haydn's busy life. Actually he was very interested in opera as a form, and composed a great many very interesting stage works for Eszterháza.

Apart from the opera house, Haydn also conducted the musicians for the marionette operas in the puppet theatre; he also composed several works for that theatre, which was soon famous throughout Europe. Here, all the operas were done in the German language, and a chorus, from the local population, could be recruited. Haydn soon became so interested in puppet operas that he formed his own private marionette theatre to entertain people in Carnival time. Once, the Prince actually hired Haydn's puppet group to perform at a surprise birthday party for his "dear Princess". Apart from Italian opera and German marionette operas, Esterházy was fascinated with the spoken theatre and engaged whole troupes of strolling players to take up residence at the Castle for months at a time. The most famous of these strolling players was the Karl Wahr Troupe, who spent many happy summers at Eszterháza. Prince Nicolaus commissioned German translations of Shakespeare plays from Wahr, and Haydn was able to enjoy *King Lear, Hamlet, Richard III, etc.*, in special translations printed – like the operas and marionette pieces – at the Prince's expense in Oedenburg or Vienna. Haydn provided all the incidental music for the plays, and the Gotha *Theater-Kalender* lists "Capellmeister: Joseph Hayden" [*sic*] under the Wahr Troupe, "resident at His Highness, Prince Esterházy". Some of this incidental music, such as that to *Hamlet*, announced in the *Pressburger Zeitung* in 1774 has, alas, not survived. Some of the arrangements of other peoples' music which Haydn undertook, still exist : *e.g.* the music to *King Lear*, which Haydn reorchestrated and "dappered up" from an extant score by one Wilhelm Stegmann. And finally, some of this incidental music was turned into symphonies and has thus survived: we know that Nos. 60 and 63 were written as incidental music to plays given by Karl Wahr at Eszterháza, and we suspect the same of Nos. 59 and 65. As it happens, we have the total season's repertoire intact for Eszterháza Castle during the year 1778. It shows that concerts were given either for everyone, in the *sala terrena* (a lovely room, recently restored by the Hungarian authorities), or "nell'appartamento" of Prince Nicolaus – chamber music, in which the Prince often participated. On 10 March a group of strolling players, the Pauli Company, arrived and took up residence. From that date until three days before Christmas, there was a German play, an Italian opera, or a German marionette opera every night except at Easter and when the Prince was not in residence. They put on *Romeo and Juliet*, Goethe's *Stella*, a number of Italian operas including Dittersdorf's *Arcifanfano* and marionette operas including Haydn's *Dido*. On 28 October the Pauli Company gave their last performance and departed, to be succeeded in two days by the Diwald Troupe who, of course, brought with them a new repertoire, including Lessing's *Emilia Galotti* and Shakespeare's *Richard III*. In the year 1786, to choose a final example, Haydn conducted 125 operatic performances at Eszterháza including a total of seventeen operas, eight of them premières; in 1788, he conducted 108 performances of seventeen (mostly different) operas, seven of them premières. Of all the great composers, none – not Verdi, not Puccini, not Gluck or Mozart – had an operatic routine of Haydn's scope.

Joseph Haydn. Anonymous miniature portrait, Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna. It shows Haydn at about the age of fifty (c.1782)

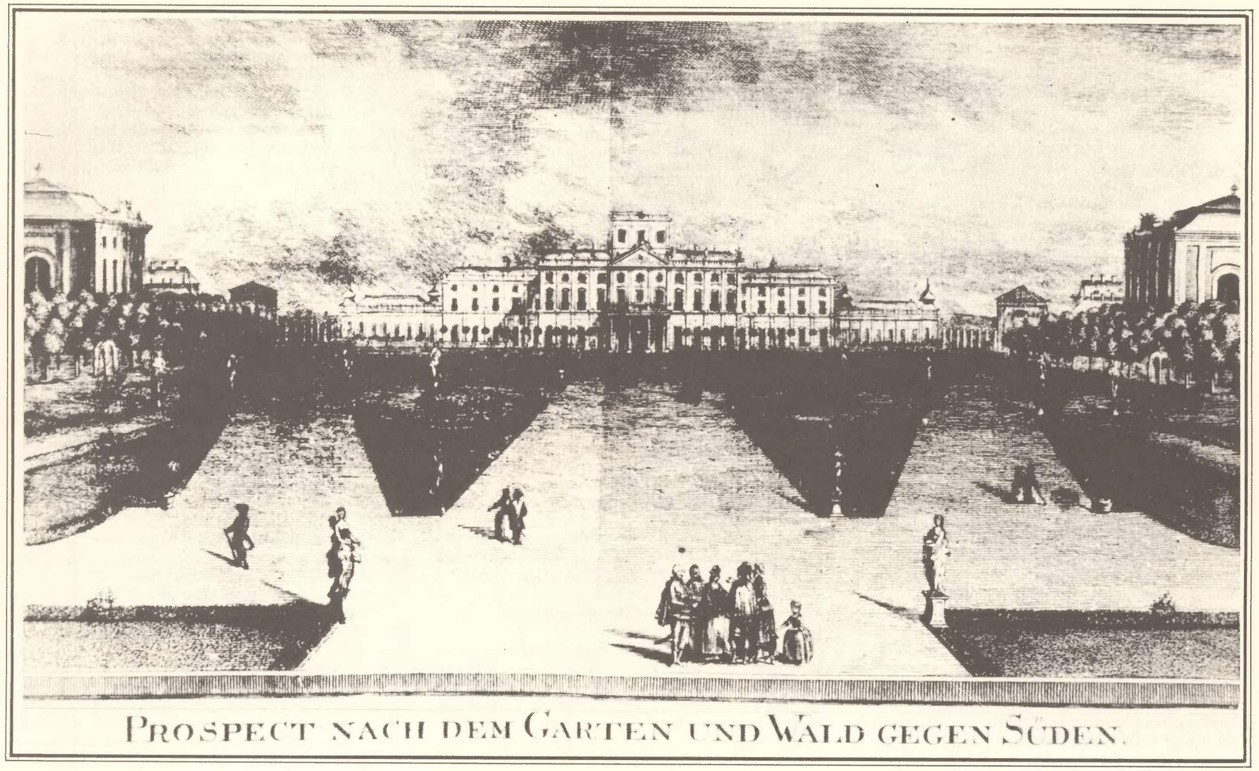


The Benedictine Monastery of Kremsmünster in Upper Austria. Water Colour by Adalbert Stifter, 1823.
The earliest and, indeed, only authentic manuscript of Haydn's Symphony No. 67 in F is preserved in the extensive music library of the Monastery; the MS. was copied mainly by Haydn's copyist Joseph Elssler, and the horn parts were copied by Johann Schellinger, the Princely operatic copyist. Albertina, Vienna.

The dissemination of Haydn's music at this time was gradually increasing until he soon found himself famous throughout Europe. In the 1760s, Paris had been the centre of music publishing, and Haydn's symphonies and quartets were published there in ever increasing quantity; but these were all pirated copies and in some cases, Haydn never even knew of their very existence. The principal method of circulating music in Central Europe was through professional copyists, and such a work as Symphony No. 72 was known in Europe (till it was belatedly published by Bland in London in an unreliable version in the late 1780s) by handwritten copies. Haydn himself did a certain amount of business selling his own "authentic" copies, and our textual knowledge of such a work as Symphony No. 67 rests on the set of MS. parts Haydn sent to the great Benedictine Abbey of Kremsmünster in Upper Austria. (Haydn's own set of parts was probably burned up in the fire of 1779.) But as the 1770s neared an end, printed music began, even on the Continent, to supersede handwritten copies; it is significant that such a work as Symphony No. 66 appears in manuscript at Göttweig Abbey in 1779 but the same year in a printed edition by the clever publisher, J. J. Hummel of Berlin and Amsterdam, who soon became a major source of Haydn's symphonies. Most of these Hummel prints were pirated editions, like the earlier ones in Paris, but we believe that Haydn managed to beat the Viennese copyists at their own game and sold Hummel six of his latest symphonies, Nos. 62, 63, 70, 71, 74 and 75, which appeared in 1781 and contain two of the symphonies here recorded. After this, Haydn took matters into his own hands and established permanent contact with publishers in Vienna, Paris and London, to whom he subsequently sold, often simultaneously, his latest symphonies, trios and quartets.

Symphony No. 65 in A. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns, strings with bassoon as part of the *continuo*.

This brilliant and enormously original A major Symphony, was composed in the middle of Haydn's great period of the early 1770s – the years that brought us the E minor Symphony (No. 44, "Trauer"), the powerful C minor Symphony (No. 52) and that miracle of beauty and poignancy, the "Farewell" (No. 45, F sharp minor). Haydn, just turning forty (in 1772), was a towering intellectual force on the Austrian scene. His great quartets



Eszterháza Castle. Engraving by F. Landerer, 1784. Coll. H. C. Robbins Landon, Buggiano Castello

of Opus 20 (1772) revolutionized the history of chamber music, and his C minor Sonata of 1771 (No. 33 in the new chronological order) opened vistas that stretch away to Brahms.

There is a whiff of the theatre, however, in this work. This is *not* a characteristic of the early 1770s – quite the contrary. Haydn's thought is, at this period, enormously symphonic. And yet, and yet – this second movement, with its curious fanfares for the wind instruments, its weird repeated violin quavers at bars 8ff., its fantastic sense of surprise, seems to smell of the stage. Are we dealing with a piece for Karl Wahr? The *Menuetto* goes even a step further: by the use of a fast turn on the note coupled with a heavy *forzato* accent, Haydn manages to turn three-four into four-four (score readers: bars 7/11 and 25/29). With the Trio we are again deep in Hungary, with gypsy grace notes from the first violins.

The Finale is a hunting piece, in 12/8 time, with brilliant and difficult parts for the horns which, we must not forget, were called "cors de chasse" (or the local linguistic equivalent thereof) throughout Europe. It is an evocative piece, as characteristic as "A picnic after the hunt" by Lancret. Nowadays it is difficult for us to realize the vital part hunting played in eighteenth-century aristocratic life; but if we study our Haydn, we can find hunting pieces such as the *Cassatio* in D with four horns, the beautiful Symphony "mit dem Hornsignal" (No. 31) – and, of course, *La Chasse*, the Overture to *La fedeltà premiata* (1780) which Haydn later made the basis of a new symphony (No. 73). It was a big part of life on the great Austro-Hungarian estates, and Haydn has wonderfully recaptured the feeling for us.

Symphony No. 66 in B flat. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, strings.

Haydn's symphonies are now becoming very sophisticated and occasionally rather cool. Here, we have an interesting example, in the first movement, of Haydn's using his own earlier thematic material; for the opening subject is remarkably close to the first theme in Symphony No. 62. The elegant second subject, much more prominent than is often the case with Haydn, is marked *dolce e piano* and has something almost Christian Bachian about it: it has a suave, fastidious line which is – while not entirely new – a slightly unusual side of Haydn's complicated personality. The continuation, with the second

violin racing along in nervous semiquavers and the first violin in syncopated crotchets, is more like the Haydn we know. Of the many felicitous details in this movement, we would only mention the end of the development: a close in the dominant of D minor, with soft oboes and the violins, where suddenly the note "a" becomes the pivotal leading note to the tonic (B flat) and the recapitulation.

The ensuing *Adagio* continues the new Haydn as eighteenth century gentleman: beautifully manicured but definitely reserved. There is a splendid and very impressive *crescendo* which leads to the closing material of the first section: Haydn breaks into sextuplets, and the whole rather sounds like a cadenza, which impression is enhanced by six-four chord and violin trill. We shall have an even more extraordinary kind of cadenza in the slow movement of Symphony No. 71 (*vide infra*).

The *Menuetto* must have been an immediate hit: its catchy tune, its beautifully poised orchestration (notice how the wind band is suddenly on its own at bars 16ff.), and the witty lead-back to the main tune in the second part – the piece was bound to succeed.

The Finale is another automatic success: a brilliant rondo of the kind that made Haydn's famous throughout Europe and even in North and South America (where eighteenth century MS. parts of Haydn symphonies have been discovered in recent years). It is marked *Scherzando e presto*, and has one particularly ingenious twist to it: namely, the fact that the theme itself is built out of two five-bar phrases. It adds a distinctly piquant touch to the formal construction of the movement.

Symphony No. 67 in F. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, strings (with two solo violins and solo violoncello).

Without any question, this is one of the most interesting and boldly original symphonies of this great "dark period"; it is also the only one of them that ever achieved anything like popularity in modern times; for, edited by the great scholar Alfred Einstein, it was played, together with another dozen unknown Haydn symphonies (including Nos. 51, 56, 77, 80, 82, 87, *etc.*) in the great 1939/40 season of the New Friends of Music in New York, brilliantly conducted by the late Fritz Stiedry. That famous season in New York might, indeed, be said to have begun the present Haydn Renaissance.

The first movement is in the unusual metre of six-eight and marked *Presto*: later, Haydn was to make six-eight immortal in the opening movement of the "Clock" Symphony. The first subject, dashed off *pianissimo* by the first violins, then with both violin sections, is accompanied pizzicato by the lower strings. We ought to add that textually our Symphony is based upon a beautiful manuscript, copied by Joseph Elssler (Haydn's copyist) and Johann Schellinger (the Esterházy theatrical copyist), which Haydn sent to the great Benedictine Monastery of Kremsmünster in Upper Austria. Many felicitous small details – the odd *mezzo forte* in a viola part to bring out an inner voice (bar 147) or the characteristic crossed turn over a note (debased into a trill in secondary MSS. and prints: Finale, bars 33, 35) – are known to us only through this authentic manuscript, the autograph (like most of this period) having long since disappeared. The rollicking second subject still whirls away in a steady quaver flow, though slurred rather than staccato (as the first subject is marked). The development is very long (from bars 89 through 161) and generates enormous strength, using the first theme contrapuntally.

The *Adagio*, constructed upon a theme of chamber musical delicacy, with muted violins (something Haydn always loved), is of great beauty and strength: we can imagine the cultivated audience at Eszterháza, the great tiled stoves heating the elegant *sala terrena* – for most of the orchestral concerts ("Academies", as they were entitled) at the Castle took place in the winters, before the theatrical troupes arrived for the season in March or April – relishing the subtle construction of such a movement and its beautiful execution with Luigi Tomasini as the spirited and sensitive leader. At the beginning of the second section the main theme seems to become bemused: and suddenly a fascinating canon between first and second violins unrolls before us – bar after bar of Bachian complexity, the two muted violin sections spinning out their golden threads. It is a great moment. At the end of this beautiful and ingenious movement, as the theme is announced for the last time, the entire string section is instructed to play "col legno dell'arco" ("with the [wooden] backs of their bows"). Perhaps Mozart had this great Symphony in mind when he wrote the famous "col legno" passage in the March in D, K. 335 No. 1 [K. 320a No. 1] in August, 1779: Haydn's Symphony will have just reached Salzburg (it was printed that year in Holland and Germany).

After the sturdy, masculine *Menuetto*, the Trio – as so often in Haydn's symphonies of this period – comes as a great shock: almost like the wandering gypsies which tear one's heartstrings in *Háry János*. There are two solo violins, the first to play everything on the "e" string *con sordino*, while the solo second violin, also *con sordino*, is to tune its g-string to f; this second violin part is used like a drone bass. The delicate crossed-turn ornaments in the second part come, once again, only from the authentic Kremsmünster manuscript (in the secondary sources they are, stupidly, trills). It is a breathtakingly original little movement, full of that Hungarian-*cum*-gypsy-inspired music that always fascinated Haydn.

The Finale (*Allegro di molto*) starts out like a regular concluding movement, with a deliciously springy second subject; the closing material in the dominant is what we would expect – but thereafter Prince Nicolaus Esterházy had the second biggest surprise of his musical life (the first having been the last movement of the "Farewell" Symphony in the late autumn of 1772). The music stops dead and a brand new movement is inserted, marked *Adagio e cantabile*, for solo string trio (two violins and violoncello), who are told to play "piano e dolce". It is for us as if time had suddenly stopped moving. After an exquisitely beautiful first section, the main body of the orchestra joins in during the second section. We are then treated to a wind band solo, to which the strings enter at the end. After considerable elaboration, the first *Allegro di molto* music comes back, to which Haydn adds a bizarre and amusing coda, the violins playing a huge, written-out trill across eight bars, the rest of the instruments mincing their way in chords down the score. The movement so astonished the critic of the *New York Times* when it was first performed by Stiedry, that that gentleman of the Press said it was only the great name of Einstein which could persuade him that the movement was authentic! But authentic it is, in the great tradition of Eszterháza.

Symphony No. 68 in B flat. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, strings.

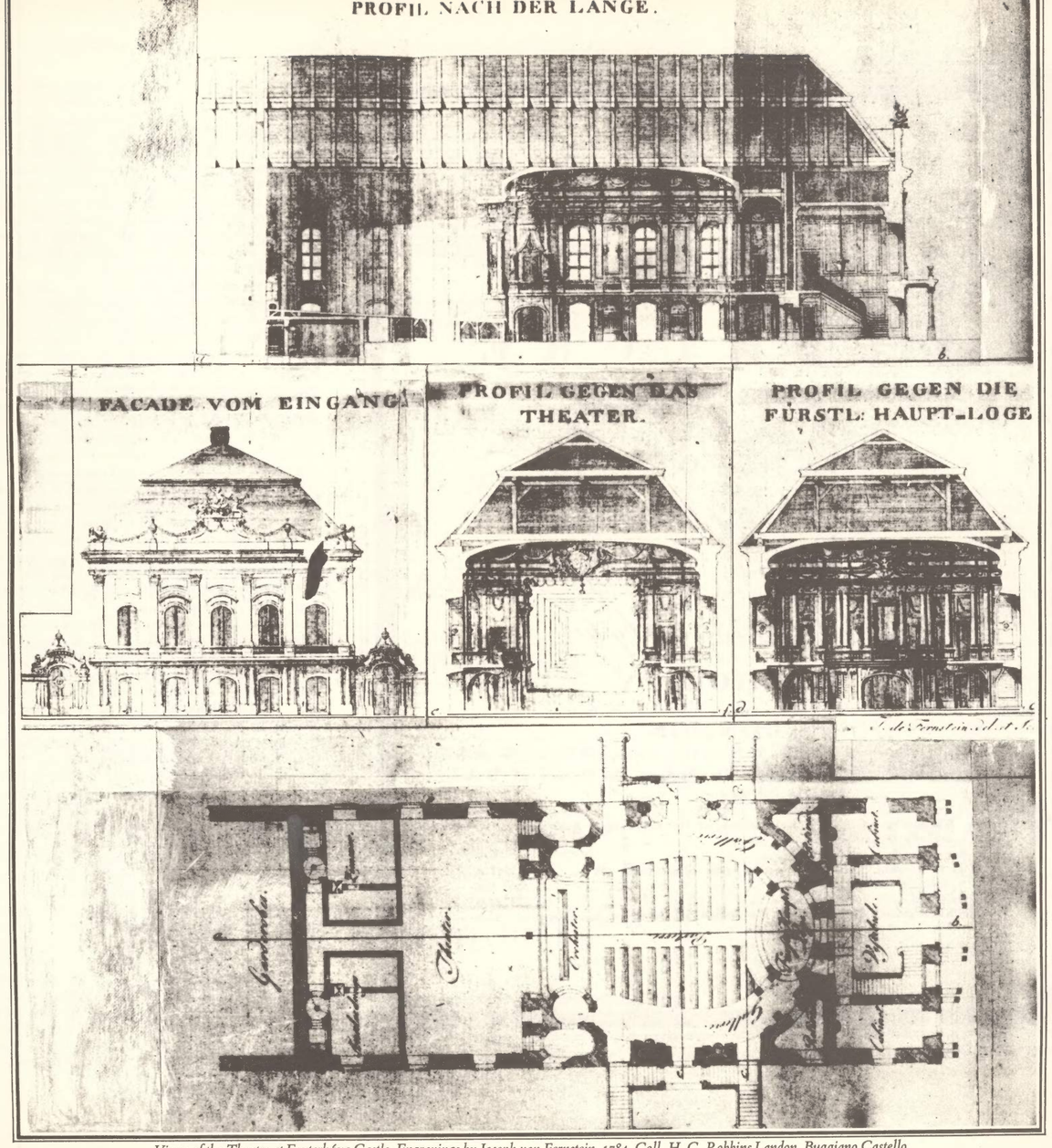
No. 68 has had a strange, not to say inexplicable, history. It was not widely circulated in manuscript, and when it was printed by Hummel, huge cuts were made in the slow movement and the minuets of all three symphonies of the set omitted (also the bassoon parts were scrapped and the solo sections worked into other parts). But even some of the extant MSS., such as the one in Milan, omit the bassoons, the minuet and make large cuts, different from those of Hummel, in the slow movement. Incidentally, the *Menuetto* comes second, as it did in some earlier symphonies (*e.g.* Nos. 32, 44) and many quartets (*e.g.* Op. 17); it is the last time this ever happens in a Haydn symphony.

The glittering first movement (*Vivace*) has a witty second subject, rather like an accompaniment to an opera *buffa aria*, to the charm of which the crossed turns of the first violins and the gliding oboe notes contribute. The furious repeated semiquavers, *fortissimo*, of the violins with the same line being shaped *legato* by the oboes (bars 50ff., 142ff.) are very characteristic of Haydn – more of that "phrenzied" music.

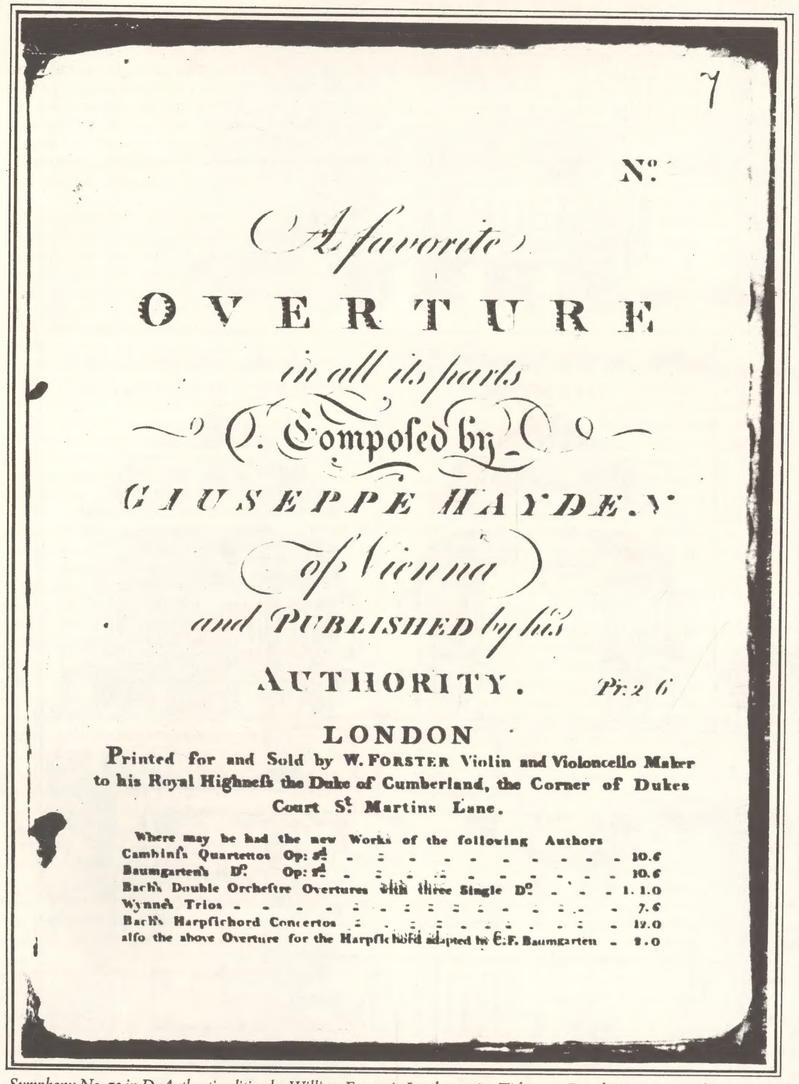
It is possible that the length and intricacy of the slow movement made Haydn think that it was best to follow it with only one movement rather than the usual two. In any case, the *Adagio cantabile* with its 126 bars, of which both sections will have been repeated in the first performance (making 252 bars, which meant eleven or twelve minutes), is a huge affair. It is a movement built upon the starkest contrasts: *f* with *p*, legato with staccato, two violins alone with all the rest of the band, and so forth. The accompaniment at the beginning, the staccato skips of a third, move through large parts of the movement. After its tension and concentration, the racy final *Presto* is a calculated relief. It is one of those popular rondos, where we have, to contrast the main section, the Great Bassoon Joke (bars 31ff.), a miniature oboe concerto (bars 85ff.), the Angry G minor Interlude (bars 167ff.), the Baroque Echo Trick (bars 237ff.), and of course the concluding coda with Haydn's "phrenzied" violins in semiquavers – altogether a most entertaining and vivacious movement.

Symphony No. 69 in C ("*Laudon*"). Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, 2 trumpets, kettledrums, strings.

Haydn himself was responsible for the title of this work: it was dedicated to General Laudon, the celebrated Austrian Field-Marshal who defeated the Turks and whose name was in fact Ernst Gideon Freiherr von



Views of the Theatre at Eszterháza Castle. Engravings by Joseph von Fernstein, 1784. Coll. H. C. Robbins Landon, Buggiano Castello



7

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Symphony No. 70 in D. Authentic edition by William Forster in London, 1782. Title page. British Museum, London

Loudon [*recte*], 1716-1790. Haydn made a piano arrangement and sold it, with a violin part (which, he wrote on 18 June 1783, "is not at all necessary and may be therefore omitted entirely"), to his publishers Artaria. On 8 April 1783, he writes from Eszterháza, "I send you herewith the Symphony, Sir, which was so full of mistakes that the fellow who wrote it ought to have his paw chopped off. The last or 4th movement is not practicable for the pianoforte, and I don't think it is necessary to include it in print: the word 'Laudon' will contribute more to the sale than any ten finales." (The spelling of Laudon with "a" is still common in Austria to this day.)

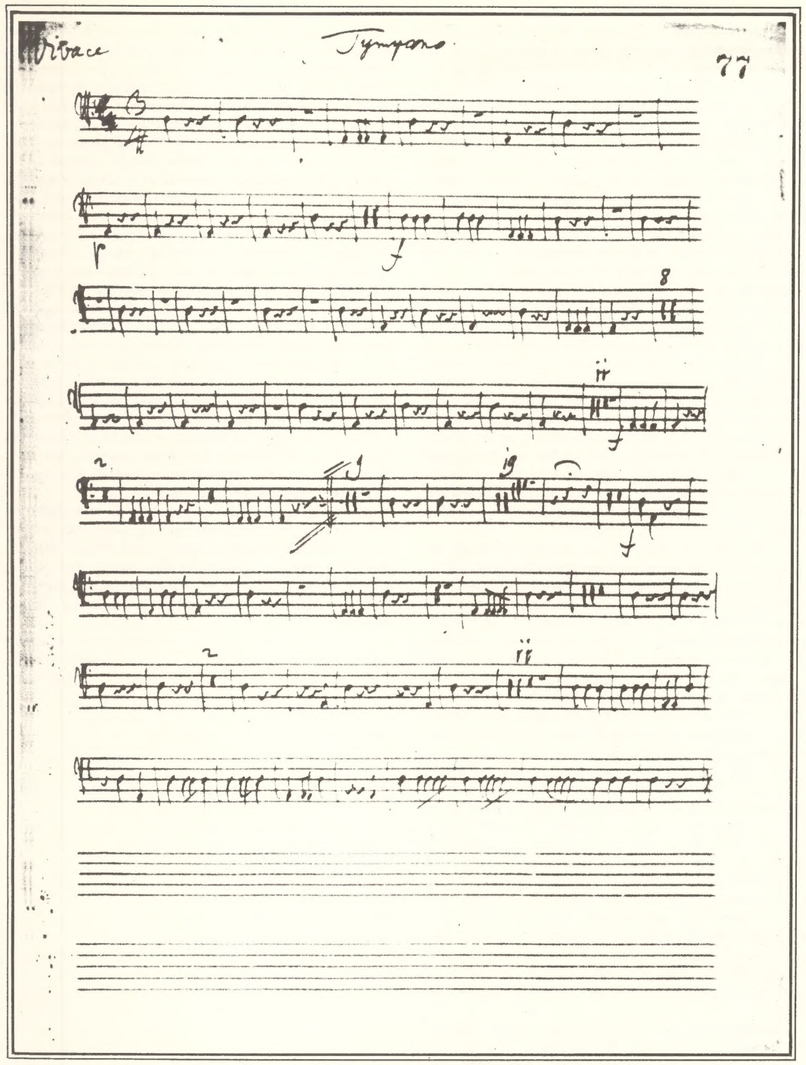
The first movement (*Vivace*) has an opening theme slightly similar to the famous beginning of the "Maria Theresa" Symphony No. 48, but in No. 69 we are in a more decorous age, where elegance and poise have supplanted the nervous brilliance of the earlier work. The horns are also no longer in the brittle and exciting pitch of C *alto*, as they were in No. 48, but have dropped down to C *basso*. By now, Haydn writes more and more extended second subjects, and this one is surprisingly regular (two four-bar phrases), almost a text-book second subject. Nothing too far-out for generals, obviously, who were probably as conservative in 1778 as they are today.

The slow movement, *Un poco adagio più tosto andante*, has some highly original harmonic touches and an interesting and unusual approach to dynamic marks, *e.g.* at the end of each section there is a big *crescendo* followed by *perdendosi* (dying away) to *p* and then *pp* – very effective. The *Menuetto* includes trumpets and kettledrums again, which had been dropped in the slow movement; it is a heavy, pompous minuet, just right for a Field Marshal; the rather conventional Trio is scored for solo oboe and strings. One cannot avoid the impression that Haydn did not entertain a vast amount of sympathy for General Laudon – certainly he did not excite in the composer the flash of inspiration that Maria Theresa, the great Austrian Empress, awoke in him when writing Symphony No. 48.

The best movement of No. 69 is certainly the bright and dexterous Finale, another whirlwind *Presto*, with some very flashy dynamic changes (*e.g.* 45/48) and a really ferocious section in C minor, where the strings are marked *ff*. The lead-back, with a long and delicate solo passage for the first violins (*pp*), is most effective, and so is the end, *fortissimo*, with Haydn's characteristic repeated semiquavers in the violins (which also infect even the lower strings in the final cadence). It is rather ironic that it was this excellent movement, not being "practicable" for the piano, which had to be omitted from the piano reduction.

Symphony No. 70 in D. Scoring: one flute, 2 oboes, one bassoon, 2 horns, 2 trumpets, kettledrums and strings.

This great Symphony was composed after the disastrous fire of November 1779, which destroyed all Haydn's performance material from 1761 to 1779, left the theatre a blackened ruin and burned up a priceless collection of Cremonese string instruments. Haydn conducted the première of his new opera, *L'isola disabitata* (the autograph of which was in his apartments in the



Autograph timpani part to Symphony No. 70 in D. National Museum, Budapest (Esterházy Archives)

Music House and thus escaped the fire; happily for us, Haydn kept most of his autographs there rather than in the theatre), in December 1779. They used the marionette theatre until the opera house could be rebuilt. A week before Christmas, 18 December 1779, Haydn completed a new and in many respects revolutionary work: perhaps the fact that it was finished exactly a month after the dreadful fire may have had something to do with the very precise date: usually Haydn only included the year. It was what might be called a "contrapuntal" symphony, for two of its movements are brilliant exercises in older Baroque forms.

The first movement (*Vivace con brio*) is like an overture: brilliant, quick, with an unimportant second subject (actually a sort of closing section) that does not impede the forceful direction of this hard-driven piece in three-four time. The movement is like a curtain-raiser to prepare us for the serious part of the work, to wit, the slow movement, which has the extraordinary title *Specie d'un canone in contrapunto doppio*, sample of a canon in double counterpoint. Another interesting feature of this Symphony is its dual tonality, for the slow movement and Finale are in D minor (only the end of the Finale switches back to D major).

This grave and dignified canon, in which the top and bottom lines can be (and of course are) reversed, is a double variation, preserving the dual tonality of the whole symphony. The main theme is in the minor, the countertheme (or countersection, if you will) is in D major, and is a foil to the serious contrapuntal part. It is a remarkable and beautiful movement.

We return, in the *Menuet*, to the hard-driving three-four of the opening movement. The Trio, with oboes and strings, sounds like a lost folk-tune. There is a brilliant coda to the minuet. Again this is obviously in the nature of being a foil to the fantastic movement that follows.

Finale: we are back in D minor and what sounds like a typical Haydnesque closing movement. But at bar 26 there is a *fermata* (hold), and suddenly the four repeated notes (d) of the beginning turn into a gigantic, flaming triple fugue in double counterpoint (Haydn marks it "a 3 soggetti in contrapunto doppio"). At the end we return to the initial pre-fugue material, and then there is a D major coda. The repeated d's get softer and softer, dying away to *pianissimo*. With five unison d's thundered out by the whole orchestra, this brilliant *tour-de-force* of a symphony concludes. It was noted above, but we would again remind our readers, that the trumpet and drum parts in the Eszterháza performance material were added later, the trumpet by a copyist (but obviously under Haydn's supervision) and the kettledrum part in Haydn's own hand.

Symphony No. 71 in B flat. Scoring: one flute, 2 oboes, one bassoon, 2 horns, strings (with two solo violins in the Trio).

The introduction (*Adagio*) to the symphony is tiny, seven bars to "set the scene", ending with a whole bar's *fermata* (pause). The *Allegro con brio* opens with a suave

and polished theme for strings and bassoon (still used in a very *col basso* way in this symphony: there is great confusion in the sources, incidentally, about this particular textual point). The ensuing tutti, with its strongly syncopated inner string parts, looks forward to the same passage in the Symphony "La Reine" of 1785/6 (No. 85) – also a B flat symphony. But what follows, the piling up of chords preceded by two *portato* crotchets (bars 44ff.), is a bold stroke harmonically; out of this the second subject, all very *legato*, grows imperceptibly. In the development there is almost the classic example of a *fausse reprise*, or sham recapitulation; it is announced *pianissimo* in the tonic (bars 121ff.) and is slightly altered so that the whole is completely static (Haydn removes all the repeated quavers); the sham continues for several bars, and then, with a tutti, we are off into the real development.

The slow movement (*Adagio*) is a finely wrought theme-and-variations form with many felicitous touches; notice how the wind instruments, used in the opening statement only to reinforce two *forzato* (accented) chords, enter in the second part (bars 15ff.) to cast a soft sheen over the music. One of the variations features solo flute and solo bassoon with string accompaniment, the second violin weaving an intricate path of demisemiquavers. Next there is a variation with triplet semiquavers in the bass line. After a return to the theme in its original state, the music rather astonishingly wends its way to a six-four chord, as if we were in a concerto and waiting for the cadenza. And Haydn does not disappoint us: he writes a gigantic (bars 103-133) cadenza for the whole orchestra, ending in an elaborate flourish for the two violin parts and a huge trill with *crescendo*.

The uncanny ability Haydn had to write minuet after minuet, one fresher and more delightful than the other, is only matched by Mozart's ability to do so. Full of original touches (the whimsical passage in the middle of the second part, for strings alone, bars 12ff., is especially noteworthy), the music is as danceable as a Johann Strauss waltz. The Trio has two solo violins and string accompaniment (mostly *pizzicato*).

The Finale (*Vivace*) opens as seriously as a first movement, and the main theme returns, slightly varied, in the dominant. The second subject divides the four-four bar in half and with it we seem to be in the middle of an uproarious *Volksfest*. Can this actually have been a folksong? After the double bar we jump from F major to D flat major; and Haydn, knowing how all his innovations had been greeted with angry protest, especially in Berlin, "covers himself" by adding the words "per licentiam". Later, in the great *Missa in tempore belli* of 1796, he excused consecutive octaves with just those very words. When the riotous folk-tune returns in the recapitulation, Haydn gives it to the wind instruments, unaccompanied: it sounds like a delightful evening serenade; then the strings rejoin us and after a short *piano* interruption, the music dances to a close in *fortissimo*.

Symphony No. 72 in D. Scoring: one flute, 2 oboes, one bassoon, 4 horns, timpani (found only in one contemporary MS.), strings (with solo violin, solo violoncello and solo double bass), harpsichord *continuo*.

In the foregoing notes about the chronology of the symphonies included in this album, it was explained that this work, very similar in style and structure to the famous "Symphonie mit dem Hornsignal" (No. 31, 1765), was probably composed in 1763 to celebrate the engagement of two additional horn players (making a total of four) to the Esterházy band. It is very much a breakfast-after-hunting symphony, and we can imagine the *Herrschaft* (lords of the manor) grouped round gigantic tables in the big hall at Eisenstadt, eating vast hams and roasts and drinking the heavy red wine of the country, while Haydn and the musicians, in their elaborate and beautiful uniforms, entertained the assembly with the greatest *Tafelmusik* ever composed.

Indeed, this is a symphony designed to show off the whole orchestra. Haydn did not make a habit of this; he would have thought it in bad taste. The first time he did it was when he was engaged as Vice *Capellmeister* in May 1761: then it was *Le Matin, Le Midi, Le Soir* (Nos. 6-8), in which there are elaborate solos for everyone, including the double bass player. Occasionally Haydn would write a concerto-like movement within an otherwise normal symphony, *e.g.* the solo cello movement in Symphony No. 13 or the little flute concerto in No. 24; No. 72 and No. 31 were, as we said, designed primarily to display the talents of the four horn players; but Haydn took the opportunity of showing off the rest of the *instrumentarium* as well, as the symphony progressed.

In the opening *Allegro*, however, the horns are the thing, and Haydn writes only an eight-bar gambit before the horns cavort into the score, rushing up and down their entire range, with the first horn ascending to sounding f sharp. Although this is a kind of concerto for four horns, notice how Haydn gives the players chances to rest (and the audience a respite from the horn-oriented music): the passage at the end of the exposition is symphonic in quite the normal way, and so is the whole development section: so that when the horns again begin their trapeze act, we realize that Haydn has shortened the recapitulation by omitting the opening eight-bar gambit.

The slow movement is a miniature concerto for solo violin, solo flute and string orchestra with harpsichord *continuo*. They are very charmingly brought on the stage: first the solo violin, Luigi Tomasini, the great Italian violinist who began life at Eisenstadt as a *valet-de-chambre* (!), then the hot-tempered Franz Sigel, the "Flut: Traversist" whose rebellious conduct in 1765 nearly resulted in his dismissal (Haydn persuaded Esterházy to keep Sigel, who actually remained until 1769). Then they play together: this pattern is repeated, with variations, throughout the movement. It is interesting to observe that the flute does not enter the picture at all until this movement, and is also silent throughout the *Menuet*.

The horns are back with us in the *Menuet* and are entertainingly used in echo fashion, horns I & II being set against horns III & IV. The Trio is for wind band (and timpani) alone: oboes, bassoon and four horns (which are again used in echo effects).

The Finale is marked *Andante:* it is a theme and variations, of which each variation presents a new solo instrument or combination of solos. The theme, for strings alone, is in two regular eight-bar sections (as indeed are all the variations). Variation I is for flute solo and string (and of course harpsichord) accompaniment; Variation II is for solo violoncello: the player was the great Joseph Weigl, for whom Haydn composed the newly discovered Cello Concerto in C major. Variation III is for "Signor Luigi" (Tomasini), as the first violin part is often marked in performance material of the Esterházy Archives – always with strings and harpsichord. Variation IV is for the "Violone" (double bass): Haydn always had a weak spot in his heart for the "Violone" and wrote a D major Concerto for double bass, alas lost. Variation V is for the two oboes and horns I & II, with strings and harpsichord accompanying. Variation VI is for the entire orchestra; it ends with a little tail-piece that modulates to a dominant cadence. The time changes to *Presto*, six-eight; the same thing happens in No. 31 (*Hornsignal*). It is what in Austrian and German dance music is called the *Kehraus*, the signal that it's time to go home; obviously, too, the speeding-up of the basic tempo from *Andante* to *Presto* is in itself effective. In the last four bars, the four horns have one final flourish to remind us that this is, *après tout*, "musique pour le chasse".

It is believed that the first performance of Symphony No. 72 since the eighteenth century took place in the B.B.C. Third Programme shortly after World War II, when the music was edited by the distinguished British Haydn specialist, Marion M. Scott. Previous to 1947, the music had been completely forgotten, even by Haydn experts.

H. C. Robbins Landon
Buggiano Castello,
July, 1969.

Booklet cover: JOSEPH HAYDN. Oil painting by Ludwig Guttenbrunn, circa 1791. Wolfgang von Karajan, Salzburg.
There are two other variants of this painting, one in Bologna and one in London. It was engraved in 1792 by G. Bartolozzi.

booklet cover: EISENSTADT CASTLE, front view; coloured copper engraving by Vincenz Reim, 1851.

Haydn: The Symphonies (73-81)
The Philharmonia Hungarica conducted by
Antal Dorati

SIDE ONE

SYMPHONY No. 73 in D major "La Chasse"

1. Adagio – Allegro (10:00)
2. Andante (5:20)
3. Menuetto e trio – Allegretto (4:45)
4. La Chasse – Presto (4:40)

SIDE TWO

SYMPHONY No. 74 in E flat major

1. Vivace assai (6:45)
2. Adagio cantabile (6:35)
3. Menuetto e trio – Allegretto (3:30)
4. FINALE – Allegro assai (4:45)

SIDE THREE

SYMPHONY No. 75 in D major

1. Grave – Presto (6:05)
2. Poco adagio – con variazioni (7:40)
3. Menuetto e trio – Allegretto (3:10)
4. FINALE – Vivace (3:20)

SIDE FOUR

SYMPHONY No. 76 in E flat major

1. Allegro (6:15)
2. Adagio, ma non troppo (8:25)
3. Menuetto e trio – Allegretto (3:10)
4. FINALE – Allegro, ma non troppo (6:40)

SIDE FIVE

SYMPHONY No. 77 in B flat major

1. Vivace (5:55)
2. Andante sostenuto (5:25)
3. Menuetto e trio – Allegro (2:30)
4. FINALE – Allegro spiritoso (4:25)

SYMPHONY No. 78 in C minor (beginning)

1. Vivace (5:35)
2. Adagio (6:05)

SIDE SIX

SYMPHONY No. 78 in C minor (continued)

3. Menuetto e trio – Allegretto (3:40)
4. FINALE – Presto (3:50)

SYMPHONY No. 79 in F major

1. Allegro con spirito (6:20)
2. Adagio cantabile (6:10)
3. Menuetto e trio – Allegretto (4:15)
4. FINALE – Vivace (4:40)

SIDE SEVEN

SYMPHONY No. 80 in D minor

1. Allegro spiritoso (5:20)
2. Adagio (6:50)
3. Menuetto e trio (3:50)
4. FINALE – Presto (5:00)

SIDE EIGHT

SYMPHONY No. 81 in G major

1. Vivace (6:50)
2. Andante (8:00)
3. Menuetto e trio – Allegretto (5:55)
4. FINALE – Allegro, ma non troppo (4:50)

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Antal Dorati
photograph: David Wedgbury

Antal Dorati

Antal Dorati was born in Budapest in 1906, and his parents, both musicians, recognised his talents and sent him at the age of fourteen to the Academy of Music in Budapest. His teachers were Zoltan Kodály, Béla Bartók and Leo Weiner. He graduated at eighteen as composer, pianist and conductor, and was the youngest person in the history of the Academy to receive a degree.

Soon after, he was appointed conductor of the Royal Opera House in Budapest, where he worked for four years. In 1928 he went to Dresden as the assistant of Fritz Busch. Between 1928 and 1933 he was principal conductor of the Opera House in Munster, at the same time appearing as guest conductor at several other Opera Houses in Germany, and with orchestras in many major musical centres.

In 1934 he joined the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo, and seven years later was appointed Musical Director of the Ballet Theatre. Meanwhile in 1937 he made his American debut as a symphonic conductor at an all-Beethoven concert with the National Symphony Orchestra of Washington D.C., and during 1939–40 made an extensive tour of Australia. Returning to the States, Dorati became Director of the New Opera Company in New York.

In 1945 he left the Ballet Theatre and was charged with the organisation of the Dallas Symphony Orchestra, and in 1949 he became Musical Director of the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra, and during his eleven years with them, he was responsible for numerous commissions, world premieres, and American premieres of important works.

From 1963 to 1966 Antal Dorati was Chief Conductor to the BBC Symphony Orchestra, and took the orchestra on a tour of Switzerland in October 1964, and the United States in the Spring of 1965. He has also made a return to opera, and conducts guest performances at Covent Garden, London, the Wiener Staatsoper, the Opera House, Rome, the Hamburg Opera and Maggio Musicale in Florence. He is now principal conductor of the Stockholm Philharmonic Orchestra and with him the orchestra made its first tour of the United States in 1968 with such success that a return tour was arranged for 1970. In October 1970, Antal Dorati was appointed chief conductor of the National Symphony Orchestra, Washington D.C., in addition to his commitments with the Stockholm orchestra.

When the Philharmonia Hungarica was formed in Vienna in 1957, from refugee musicians who had fled Hungary during the 1956 revolution, Antal Dorati was one of the orchestra's first conductors. He made several recordings with them during this period, so that the London project of recording the complete Haydn symphonies with Dorati and the Philharmonia Hungarica represents the renewal of a long-standing association.

Philharmonia Hungarica

Among the hundreds of thousands of refugees who left their home country during the Hungarian Revolution in the late Autumn of 1956 were many musicians, who set out for the free world with their instruments as their only possessions. It was yet another instance of the tragic tradition of the Hungarian history of culture, which, over two decades ago, Béla Bartók summed up in these poignant words: ". . . One must get away from here, no matter where to . . .".

From among these exiled musicians, who, almost without exception, came from the leading Hungarian Symphony Orchestras – as for example the Hungarian National Philharmonia, the Budapest Radio Orchestra and State Opera Orchestra – the Philharmonia Hungarica was formed in Vienna, in the Spring of 1957, thanks to the spontaneous and generous assistance of several philanthropic organizations, mainly the Congress for the Freedom of Culture, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the International Rescue Committee and the Swiss Committee for Aid to the Freedom Fighters of Hungary.

Soon the artists resumed their serious artistic work, which, in a very short time, assured a leading place for this ensemble in the international music world.

The enthusiastic approval met with again and again by them during their many tours in Europe and North America, as well as during musical festivals, is a proof of the importance and vitality of this orchestra.

It is all to the credit of the cultural policy of the Federal German Republic, the regions of North Rhine-Westphalia and the city of Marl, to have recognized the unique value of the Philharmonia Hungarica, and, through generous financial assistance, to have assured the continued existence of an internationally appreciated orchestra.

Many of the members of the Orchestra are winners of valuable music prizes and have successfully taken part in international music competitions. The Ramor Quartet, consisting of instrumentalists from the string sections, gained first prize in the Geneva International Music Competition in 1957, and in 1962 the same prize was awarded to the Wind Quintet of the Philharmonia Hungarica.

Several of the members of the Philharmonia Hungarica were attracted to the career of soloist, others distinguished themselves through invitations to perform with renowned European and American Orchestras. And yet they all resolved, out of a sense of artistic integrity and patriotism, to remain loyal to the commitment of their own orchestra.

As an instance of the reputation enjoyed by the Orchestra with international audiences and press, let me quote the words which a Greek critic wrote on the occasion of a series of concerts at the 1962 Athens International Festival: "Our country – Music! That is the message of religious and patriotic faith one almost hears at a performance of the Philharmonia Hungarica. One also gets the impression that these men and women, who were forced to leave their country against their will, have brought with them, and preserved, not only the music, but – a particle of their home country!"

Notes on Symphonies 73–81 by H. C. Robbins Landon

In May, 1761 Haydn was engaged as Vice *Capellmeister* to Prince Paul Anton Esterházy, who lived at Eisenstadt Castle most of the year, going to Vienna for Christmas and sometimes taking his musicians with him. The nominal *Capellmeister* was the old and crotchety Gregor Werner, who continued to run the church music; Haydn was in charge of the orchestra. At the time of Haydn's engagement, the band was considerably enlarged. Most of the players were proficient on more than one instrument: of the two new horn players engaged in 1763, both could play string bass instruments as well. In these early years, the regular instrumental group consisted of one flute, two oboes, two bassoons, two horns, three violins, one violoncello and Haydn (who sometimes joined the violins and sometimes conducted from the harpsichord). The Princely church music group also included a small nucleus of string players – a couple of violins, a cello and a double bass. The timpani player, Adam Sturm, was pensioned but could obviously be had for an occasional symphony with kettledrums. Later, the trumpet and timpani players were always recruited whenever necessary and were not regular members of Haydn's *instrumentarium*. For the first performance of Symphony No. 72, Haydn obviously took advantage of the two new horn players engaged in 1763. His orchestra for the work consisted of one flute, two oboes, one bassoon (the other probably doubled the bass throughout), four horns, five violins and viola players (six if Haydn played the violin), two violoncellos and a double bass (or *violone*, as it was called, tuned differently from today, with the lowest string contra C, not E). Probably one of Haydn's composition pupils or the organist played the harpsichord if Haydn did not. In any case, it was a small chamber orchestra; yet, even a small group makes a glorious sound in the echoing vastness of the high-ceilinged "great hall" in Eisenstadt Castle.

Gradually – especially when the new Castle at Eszterháza was opened – new string players had to be engaged permanently. Eszterháza was very lonely and there was no church group from which to borrow players; the nearest place was Oedenburg (now Sopron), and Haydn actually did borrow musicians from there when a great festival took place. By 1780, there were ten violinists (not including Haydn), two viola players, two cellists and two double bass players, apart from the usual woodwind and brass players.

In the early part of the 1760s, the band was regularly situated at Eisenstadt Castle, but they occasionally went to Kittsee Castle, a pretty residence across the Danube from Pressburg (now Bratislava, CSSR). A document of the year 1765, from the Esterházy Archives, tells us something of the circumstances under which most of Haydn's symphonies in the period 1761–1766 were first given. We read that Haydn is "to hold in our (Prince Esterházy's) absence two musical concerts every week in the Officers' room at Eisenstadt, *viz*. on Tuesdays and Saturdays from two to four o'clock in the afternoon. All the musicians are to appear . . .".

At Eszterháza, everything gradually came to centre round the opera house and, at the beginning, the elegant marionette theatre. Prince Paul Anton had died in 1762, to be succeeded by Prince Nicolaus (known as "The Magnificent"), under whom Haydn served till the Prince's death in 1790. Prince Nicolaus, a benevolent despot, was himself a good musician and encouraged Haydn in his far-reaching and occasionally extravagant experiments in the symphonic form. But Nicolaus's grand passion, apart from his fabulous diamond-studded uniforms, was opera; in 1768, the opera house was opened at Eszterháza and when it burned down in the disastrous fire of November 1779, Prince Nicolaus immediately set to work on a new and even larger one, which was opened on 25 February 1781 with the première of Haydn's *La fedeltà premiata*. From 1776 on, there was a regular operatic season at Eszterháza; previously, the operas produced had been exclusively by Haydn himself, but after 1776, he found himself becoming more and more an operatic *Capellmeister*. Prince Nicolaus preferred Italian *opera buffa*, and soon the theatre echoed to strains of Paisiello, Guglielmi, Gazzaniga, Cimarosa and Anfossi. Many new singers were engaged, including the pretty, dark-haired Italian soprano, Luigia Polzelli, whose husband was engaged as a violinist. Haydn fell madly in love with "la Polzelli" and the two carried on an open love affair in front of their respective spouses. Naturally, with all this operatic activity, Haydn had less and less time to compose, and after the enormously vital years of symphonic composition between 1761 and 1775, the symphony soon had to occupy a very minor rôle in Haydn's busy life. Actually he was very interested in opera as a form, and composed a great many very interesting stage works for Eszterháza.

Apart from the opera house, Haydn also conducted the musicians for the marionette operas in the puppet theatre; he also composed several works for that theatre, which was soon famous throughout Europe. Here, all the operas were done in the German language, and a chorus, from the local population, could be recruited. Haydn soon became so interested in puppet operas that he formed his own private marionette theatre to entertain people in Carnival time. Once, the Prince actually hired Haydn's puppet group to perform at a surprise birthday party for his "dear Princess". Apart from Italian opera and German marionette operas, Esterházy was fascinated with the spoken theatre and engaged whole troupes of strolling players to take up residence at the Castle for months at a time. The most famous of these strolling players was the Karl Wahr Troupe, who spent many happy summers at Eszterháza. Prince Nicolaus commissioned German translations of Shakespeare plays from Wahr, and Haydn was able to enjoy *King Lear*, *Hamlet*, *Richard III*, *etc.*, in special translations printed – like the operas and marionette pieces – at the Prince's expense in Oedenburg or Vienna. Haydn provided all the incidental music for the plays, and the Gotha *Theater-Kalender* lists "Capellmeister: Joseph Hayden" (*sic*) under the Wahr Troupe, "resident at His Highness, Prince Esterházy". Some of this incidental music, such as that to *Hamlet*, announced in the *Pressburger Zeitung* in 1774 has, alas, not survived. Some of the arrangements of other people's music which Haydn undertook, still exists *e.g.* the music to *King Lear*, which Haydn reorchestrated and "dappered up" from an extant score by one Wilhelm Stegmann. And finally, some of this incidental music was turned into symphonies and has thus survived: we know that Nos. 60 and 63 were written as incidental music to plays given by Karl Wahr at Eszterháza, and we suspect the same of Nos 59 and 65. As it happens, we have the total season's repertoire intact for Eszterháza Castle during the year 1778. It shows that concerts were given either for everyone, in the *sala terrena* (a lovely room, recently restored by the Hungarian authorities), or "nell'appartamento" of Prince Nicolaus – chamber music, in which the Prince often participated. On 10 March a group of strolling players, the Pauli Company, arrived and took up residence. From that date until three days before Christmas, there was a German play, an Italian opera, or a German marionette opera every night except at Easter and when the Prince was not in residence. They put on *Romeo and Juliet*, Goethe's *Stella*, a number of Italian operas including Dittersdorf's *Arcifanfano* and marionette operas including Haydn's *Dido*. On 28 October the Pauli Company gave their last performance and departed, to be succeeded in two days by the Diwald Troupe who, of course, brought with them a new repertoire, including Lessing's *Emilia Galotti* and Shakespeare's *Richard III*. In the year 1786, to choose a final example, Haydn conducted 125 operatic performances at Eszterháza including a total of seventeen operas, eight of them premières; in 1788, he conducted 108 performances of seventeen (mostly different) operas, seven of them premières. Of all the great composers, none – not Verdi, not Puccini, not Gluck or Mozart – had an operatic routine of Haydn's scope.

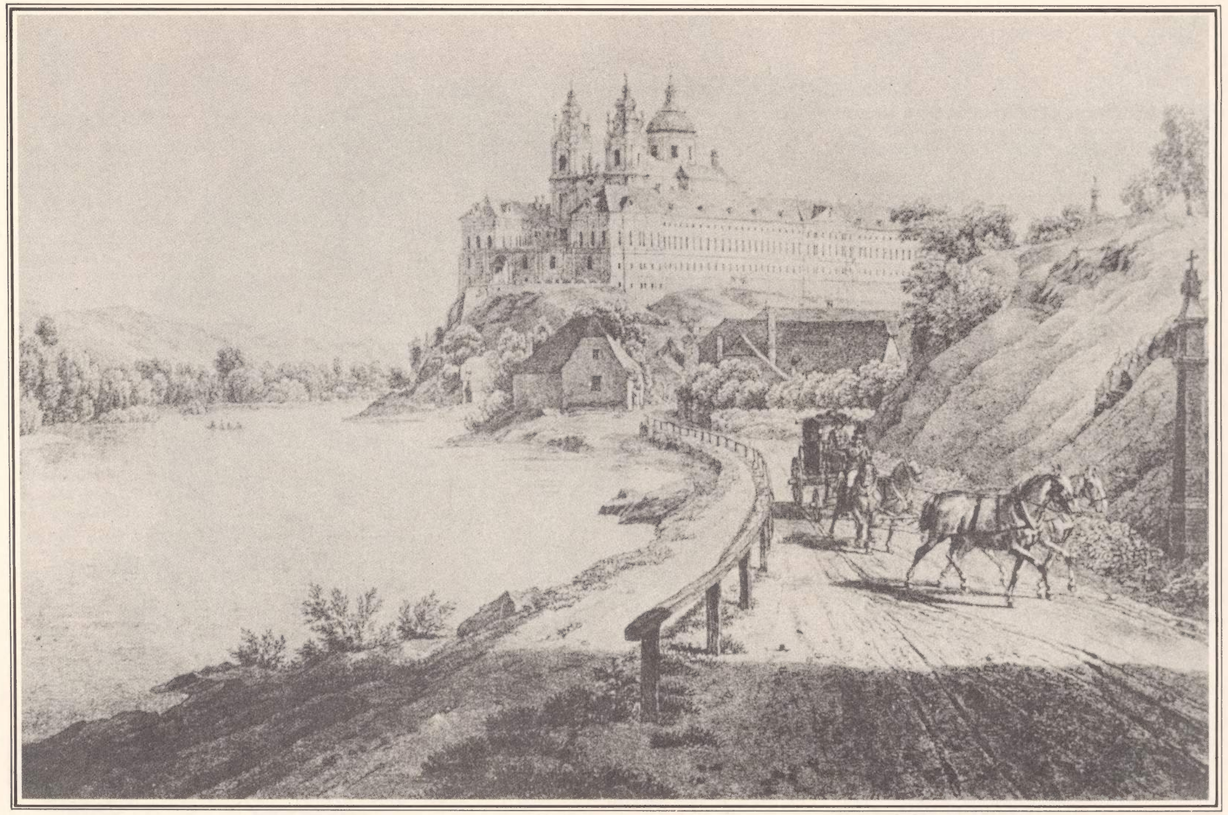
As we leave the 1770s and move into the 1780s, the chronology of Haydn's symphonies becomes ever clearer and also more closely in line with the old numbering of Breitkopf & Härtel. This list of 104 works needs to be supplemented with three missing, genuine pieces (two B flat symphonies of the period *c.* 1760 and a lost D major work) and is in considerable chronological disorder, particularly as regards the earlier works. As far as the symphonies included in this album are concerned, Nos 76–81 are more or less as Haydn wrote them. Of the three preceding works, the chronological order should be as follows:

Date of composition	*Number*	*Remarks*
End 1779	75	MS. parts by Joseph Elssler and others in the Esterházy Archives in Budapest, with the date 1779. Since the fire in November destroyed all the orchestral material in the Castle, this set of parts can only date from the six weeks following 18 November 1779.
1780	74	On 22 August 1781 the British publisher William Forster received from Eszterháza the MS. parts of this symphony; but at the end of 1780 he put in a request with the Princely administration at Eszterháza for new music paper, "because the recently purchased music paper is now entirely used up, partly for the new opera (*La fedeltà premiata*), partly for those two new symphonies, and the rest of the quartets by Pichl . . .". The two new symphonies were Nos. 62 (out of place in the chronological list) and 74.
1780/81	73	After the fire, the Prince at once ordered a new opera house to be constructed. It was supposed to be ready in October 1780, but it was not ready and the opening had to be postponed until February 1781. The Overture to *La fedeltà premiata* was completed in 1780, as the dated autograph in the Esterházy Archives informs us. This was the basis for Symphony No. 73: Haydn used the movement, entitled *La Chasse*, as the Finale of the Symphony. For the second movement he used a *Lied* entitled *Gegenliebe*, composed (or completed) in 1781. The first edition of the Symphony by Christoph Torricella in Vienna appeared in July 1782.

Joseph Haydn.
From a life-sized painting by Christian Ludwig Seehas (1785).

Symphony No. 73 in D ("*La Chasse*"). Scoring: 1 flute, 2 oboes, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, strings; in the Finale also with 2 trumpets and timpani.

This is the period when Haydn was experimenting with the finale. What was to be the difference between a sonata-form first movement and a sonata-form finale? For a while, the two "corner" movements indeed seemed interchangeable: the earliest version of No. 53's Finale consisted of an overture (*sinfonia*) of 1777; and that movement, with certain changes, was also used as a first movement, in Symphony No. 62. Another Finale, the autograph of which is in the Leningrad Library, was published by Hoffmeister in Vienna as an Overture (Hoboken Ia: 4). And here, in No. 73, we have another example of an Overture being used as a final movement. Not only that: Haydn did not even bother to orchestrate the first three movements with trumpets and drums; so that they suddenly appear for the first time in the Finale. That Haydn actually intended this is seen from the Sieber print (Sieber was a Parisian publisher who issued almost all Haydn's symphonies at one time or another), and also from parts owned by Haydn's friend von Kees. Kees, whose Vienna concerts were much frequented, was very interested in Haydn's symphonies and kept an accurate catalogue which Haydn used when preparing the big Elssler catalogue of 1805. The Kees MS., now in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, carries the confusion a step further: the order of the movements is IV (with trumpets and timpani), II, III, I. Can this, perhaps, have been Haydn's original idea? But it seems odd that a Finale should open with a slow introduction. At any rate, the problem was there and



The Monastery at Lambach.

Haydn was struggling with it.

Altogether, the symphonies of the late 1770s – with a few notable exceptions (No. 70 in D, 1779) – have a certain detached atmosphere about them, an emotional state which might be described as impersonal, if not even cool. Haydn's heart really was in other things, especially opera. *La fedeltà premiata*, in many respects the most sophisticated and intricate of his operas up to that date, is Haydn's great masterpiece of the period. It was recently (1970) given its first hearing since the eighteenth century, at the Holland Festival, where it proved to be an enormous success. Astute critics noticed that it was the Haydn opera with the most Mozartian flavour; which is an historical fallacy, of course, because it was written before Haydn can have heard a note of Mozart's operatic music. Conversely, however, Mozart undoubtedly heard *La fedeltà premiata* when Schikaneder's troupe gave it in Vienna in 1784, and the theatre was sold out hours before. The big success of the opera, Celia's magnificent *scena* in Act II, *Ah, come il cor*, was published in full score by Artaria as a separate Cantata.

The Overture was obviously a smash hit, too. The rest of the Symphony that Haydn wrote to go with *La Chasse* is beautifully fashioned, especially the immensely sophisticated first movement. The "slow" movement – not really slow in pace – is attractive but definitely on the cool side. As observed, Haydn took it, with very few changes, from his song *Gegenliebe*. The Minuet has the danceable quality that is a characteristic feature of Haydn's minuets: an irresistible lilt to it. It is also a fairly quick minuet, which reminds us that new evidence has just (1970) come to light that the Viennese actually *waltzed* to Haydn's great *Deutsche Tänze* of 1792. The link between the *Menuetto* of *La Chasse* and Johann Strauss is, *via* Lanner (a great composer who will, one day, be resuscitated to the delight and astonishment of modern audiences), a clear one.

The Finale is, as the name implies, a hunting movement. The famous "call" with the oboes and horns, which

The Monastery at Melk.

comes after a half-close, is in fact a real "ancienne Vue" well known to Haydn's public. We find the first part note for note (except for an appoggiatura) in the *Manuel du Chasseur* by Monsieur de Changran (Paris 1780) as call No. 6. Prince Esterházy's horns will have sounded it out as the Prince and his guests thundered out of the castle grounds at Eszterháza of an early Sunday morning. Haydn loved *La Chasse*, too, and has given us three memorable symphonies (Nos. 31, 72, 73) and a *Cassatio* (discovered at Prague in 1959) which feature the horn and its calls. The Overture (alias Finale) ends *pianissimo*, reminding us that it was, after all, the prelude to Haydn's latest opera.

Symphony No. 74 in E flat. Scoring: 1 flute, 2 oboes, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, strings.

This was the period when Haydn began to cash in on his enormous popularity throughout Europe by doing business with foreign publishers himself rather than leaving it to the clever professional copyists in Vienna. It is also the period when Artaria, the Viennese publisher, began to issue large amounts of music, including many of Haydn's and Mozart's most important works. Gradually the sale of manuscript music would give way to that of printed music; but for the moment the Viennese copyists and publishers were in sharp competition with each other. Haydn had to be very careful to prevent his latest symphonies from being pirated, and he usually assigned two or three copyists to a single work, and made them work in his own rooms, so that no one copyist could get at the symphony all at once. Most of the extant parts of symphonies of the period 1779-1790 – none of the earlier ones survived the November 1779 fire – in the Esterházy Archives are written by two or more hands.

In 1781, through the services of General Jerningham, British Ambassador at Vienna, Haydn established contact with William Forster, the London publisher. The first work of Haydn's that Forster published was Symphony No. 74, in parts (orchestral scores were very seldom

Costume design for Haydn's last opera composed at Eszterháza, Armida, *which was first performed in 1784.*

published except of operas or large religious works); the MS. of it arrived in London on 22 July 1781 and came out towards the end of the year as "A favorite Overture in all its Parts composed by Giuseppe Hayden (*sic*) of Vienna and Published with his Authority." The complete set of parts cost 2/6.

This is a frankly popular symphony, like most of Haydn's symphonic works in this album; without problems and deliberately avoiding emotional heights and depths (with one notable exception: No. 77 (1782), the greatest of all these symphonies). It is beautifully designed and the orchestration is impeccable, as always. There were, of course, things especially for the connoisseur: after the suave, elegant exposition, the development gets round to F minor and a half-cadence, followed by a pause (bar 82). The second subject then starts in F minor, whereupon Haydn starts combining fragments of both subjects (the minim figure of bar 3, or rather 10, with the staccato crotchets of 42/3) and becomes wildly involved in a grandiose emotional *cul-de-sac*: the woodwind provide a dazzling wash of colour over this passage, which reminds us once again that opera was Haydn's main occupation at this period in his life. This getting lost over something occurs again and again in Haydn's operas: the beggar-woman in *Die Feuersbrunst* (Hanswurst in disguise) comes on, a ridiculously comic figure; but all of a sudden the comedy is gone and Haydn's heart goes out, as it always did, to this down-trodden, pathetic thing, asking for a crust of bread. Haydn had nearly starved, himself, and the memory returned to haunt him years later. Of course it is getting off the main point, just like this romantic indulgence (bars 92*ff.*); but it also tells us that Haydn's genius has not wholly succumbed to popular elegance and the approval of Europe's drawing-rooms.

The *Adagio cantabile* opens with a very long and curious duet between first violins and violoncellos. In the tutti that finally dominates bars 25/37 the new restless dynamic marks (many *decrescendi*, a relatively unknown sign) and the involved, and long-spanned harmonic arches, are again matters for the connoisseur to relish. The *pp* passage at bars 38/9 – the violins in semiquavers, the lower strings in crotchets – also appears, and just as mysteriously, in Haydn's Cantata *Miseri noi, misera patria*, bar 11. Later, the sonorous low b flats in horn and bassoon (its bottom note altogether) remind us of a striking passage in Celia's great *scena, Ah, come il cor* from Act II of *La fedeltà premiata*, the première of which occurred in March 1781, but the composition of which had been completed in 1780, the same year as our Symphony. The main subject – originally spiky and deliberately four-square – is now miraculously transformed in a striking woodwind solo, the oboes in imitation and the bassoon taking over the cello's earlier rôle. Not an ordinary movement!

The minuet is another great dance movement: Haydn's minuets never fail to astonish, when you consider that he wrote close to a thousand of them. How can any one man be so inventive? The infectious "dancing" quality, of which we have spoken often in these notes, is here again, intensified by that "Scottish" (or if you lived on the Continent, "Lombard") snap that flicks its way across the pages of the movement. The Trio, after all this rhythmic complexity, is deliberately simple: running quavers and an occasional crotchet, with the melody carried by solo bassoon and first violins.

The Finale (*Allegro assai*) is in six-eight time: typical finale metre for Haydn (which means that we also have first movements in it, too, and not only the little-known No. 67 but also the famous No. 101 [*Clock*]) . . . And yet, and yet: Haydn is still having trouble with his finales, to make them wholly different from opening sonata-form movements. The big-scale two-part counterpoint that assaults our ears in the first tutti (not strictly two-part, because there are filling-in voices as well) strikes one as more appropriate for an opening movement. After a pause we get the second subject, which is almost like a caricature of Haydn: Haydn writing like Gyrowetz copying Haydn. All in all, the Finale is simply not up to the elegance of the first movement or the originality of the second.

Symphony No. 75 in D. Scoring: 1 flute, 2 oboes, 1 bassoon, 2 horns, strings. Haydn later added two *clarini* (trumpets) and kettledrums.

The earliest source of this symphony is the set of MS. parts now in the Esterházy Archives at Budapest: it was written by Johann Schellinger, the Princely copyist, and Joseph Elssler, Haydn's personal copyist; and one of the pages is dated 1779. It must have been one of the first works to be produced after the great fire of November 1779. The timpani had burned up in the fire, and Haydn had to write to Forchtenstein Castle (a big Esterházy estate in what is now the Austrian province of Burgenland) to get new ones. For the time being, however, the symphonies had to be without any kettledrums. Later, perhaps for his friend Kees in Vienna, Haydn added trumpets and drums.

There is a broad *Grave* introduction which, as so often in Haydn, turns into the minor and ends on the dominant unisson of D minor. The *Presto* is like a racy operatic overture, but in the development Haydn has some pretty contrapuntal tricks in store for us, using the characteristic long plus short notes of the opening theme; having got the taste of it, he cannot resist continuing this contrapuntal extension, and we have a long and interesting *stretto*, complete with pedal point, just before the final tutti. It is interesting to observe the effect of the symphony without, and with, the trumpets and timpani. Without, the work is a finely wrought chamber symphony; with, the work sounds bigger and, curiously, its operatic features are underlined.

The *Poco Adagio* is a set of variations on a beautiful and elegiac hymn-like melody, to which type of tune Haydn was much attracted in the 1780s (the most celebrated of these "hymn tunes" is that of the slow movement in No. 88). Var. III has two solo violins and a solo cello – just like an old *concerto grosso*.

This became one of Haydn's most popular symphonies all over Europe. It arrived in England in 1783 where it became "the favorite (*sic*) Sinfonia play'd for the Benefit

Costume design for Haydn's last opera composed at Eszterháza, Armida, *which was first performed in 1784.*

Sketch by Pietro Travaglia for scenery for Haydn's Orlando Paladino.

of the Musical fund, 1783". It was still being performed when Haydn went to England in 1791, and on one such occasion this slow movement gave rise to a strange occurrence. Haydn's diary tells the story:

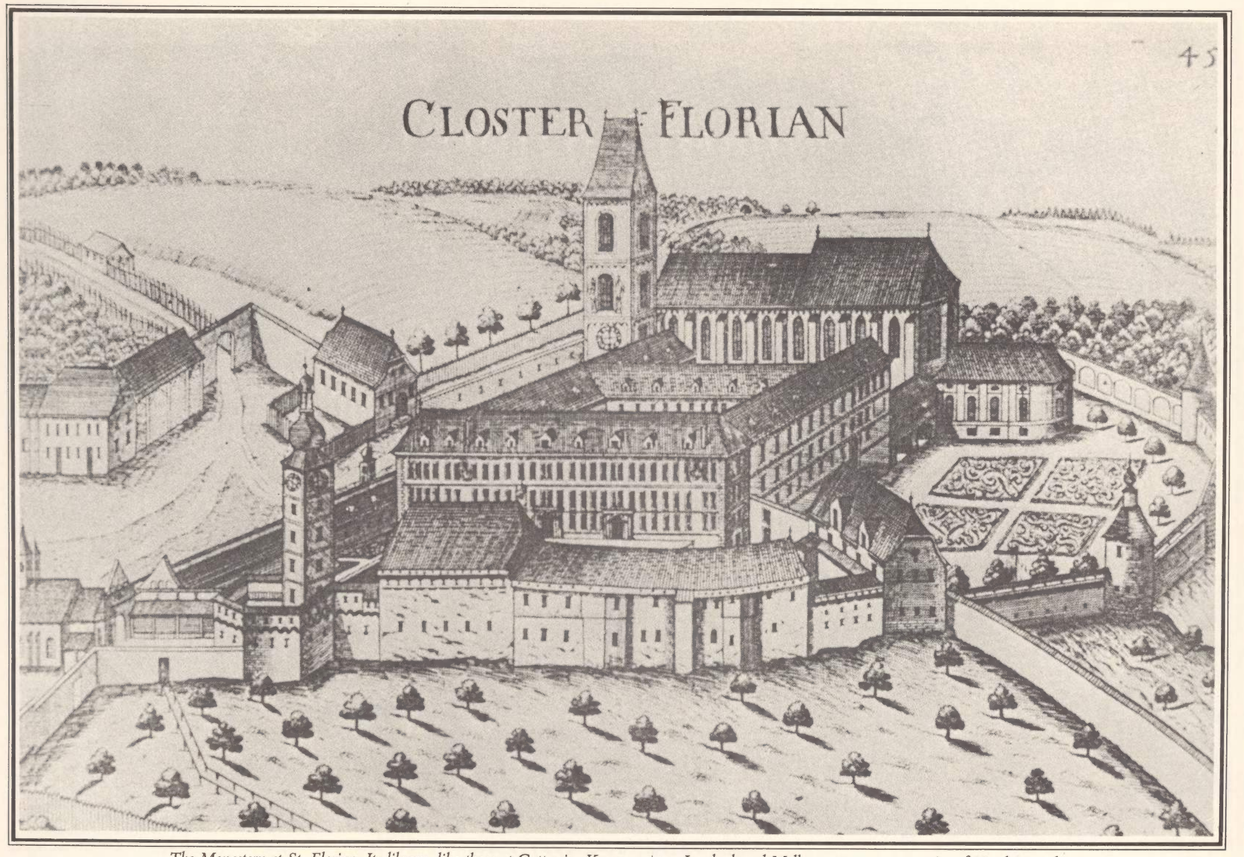
"On 26 March [1792], at Mr. Barthelemon's [*recte:* Miss Corri's] Concert, an English clergyman was present who fell into the most profound melancholy on hearing the Andante [here Haydn quotes the *incipit* of No. 75's *Poco Adagio*] because he had dreamt the previous night that this piece was a premonition of his death. He left the company at once and took to his bed.

"Today, 25 April, I heard from Mr. Barthelemon that this Protestant clergyman has died."

Apart from the curious nature of the incident, the occurrence shows vividly how profound were the emotions roused in the eighteenth century breast by Haydn's slow movements. They struck some responsive chord throughout Europe; indeed, Haydn seems to have had an uncanny gift, almost amounting to a sixth sense, for writing what the cultivated man in 1780 wanted to hear, whether in Paris or Berlin or London or St. Petersburg.

The robust *Menuetto*, with its characteristic turn, is set off by a delicate Trio, in which the flute and a solo violin carry the melody, supported only by the strings.

The Finale is not only a good concluding movement but a very successful piece altogether. The principal subject is a-b-a, like the great Finale of the *Clock* to which it in certain respects looks forward. There then follows a big section in D minor (just as in the *Clock* Finale). Later there is an exquisite passage for solo wind instruments (bars 108*ff.*, and just before the end there is a surprise modulation, *piano* (bars 151*ff.*), and a humorous ending, all in the best Haydn manner. A warm-hearted and winning symphony.



The Monastery at St. Florian. Its library, like those at Gottweig, Kremsmunster, Lambach and Melk, preserves many copies of Haydn's works.

THE ENGLISH SYMPHONIES OF 1782: Nos. 76-78

Symphony No. 76 in E flat; Symphony No. 77 in B flat; Symphony No. 78 in C minor. Scoring: 1 flute, 2 oboes, 2 bbassoons, 2 horns, strings.

It is not generally known that Haydn almost went to London in 1782, not only for the opera but also to give symphonies at the Professional Concerts. Charles Burney, wiitih whom Haydn was to become great friends later, wrrote to his friend the Rev. Thomas Twining (an undated letter *c.* 1782): ". . . I have stimulated a wish to gett Haydn over as opera composer – but mum mum – yett – a correspondence is opened, and there is a great likelihood of it, if these cabals, and litigations ruin not the opera entirely . . .". Nothing came of this proposed visit, probably because Prince Esterházy did not want to let Haydn go.

The *raison d'être* of Symphonies Nos. 76-78 was first made clear in a then unpublished letter from Haydn to the Parisian music publisher Boyer which the London antiquarian dealer Martin Breslauer offered for sale in 1950. The letter, dated 15 July 1783, is in unknown private hands and we have one page in facsimile (from an earlier sale at Sothebys) and the rest in summary from the Breslauer catalogue. In this letter, we read: ". . . Last year I composed three beautiful, elegant and by no means over-lengthy symphonies, scored for 2 violins, viola, basso, 2 horns, 2 oboes, 1 flute and 1 bassoon [*recte:* 2 bassoons] – but they are all very easy, and without too much *concertante*." [Summary:] "I wanted to produce them in England, but the journey did not materialize. I now offer you these symphonies, and inquire after the best terms, for I am confident that these three pieces will enjoy a tremendous sale."

Boyer bought the three works. Haydn thereupon offered them, successfully, to William Forster in London, where they arrived in three batches, between 14 February and 6 May 1784. That summer they were also published,

Composer and Singer: a contemporary engraving.

in an edition "corrected by him [Haydn]", by Christoph Torricella of Vienna, dedicated to Prince Nicolaus Esterházy, a thoughtful touch which Haydn's patron will have appreciated.

Of the three works, by far the finest is No. 77, which is great in all four movements. The stunning development of the first movement, with its contrapuntal intricacies; the vivid inspiration of the slow movement; the dashing, almost *scherzo*-like verve of the *Menuetto* (which is marked *Allegro* rather than *Allegretto*, incidentally); and the brilliant *panache* of the Finale, with its fantastic contrapuntal development section – this is, hands down, one of the greatest symphonies Haydn ever wrote. Its first performance in modern times, by the way, took place during that historic series of Bach concerti and Haydn symphonies given by the New Friends of Music in New York conducted by Fritz Stiedry during the season 1939-1940; no less a scholar than Alfred Einstein edited the works, which produced a profound impression on musical life in New York. It was as if a whole series of Rembrandt paintings had been rediscovered, wrote Irving Kolodin, the promising and brilliant writer of the programme notes. Two of the symphonies then resuscitated (Nos. 67, 80) were very successfully recorded; a further album, containing Nos. 77 and 87, was planned; but possibly the war prevented the realization of that second album.

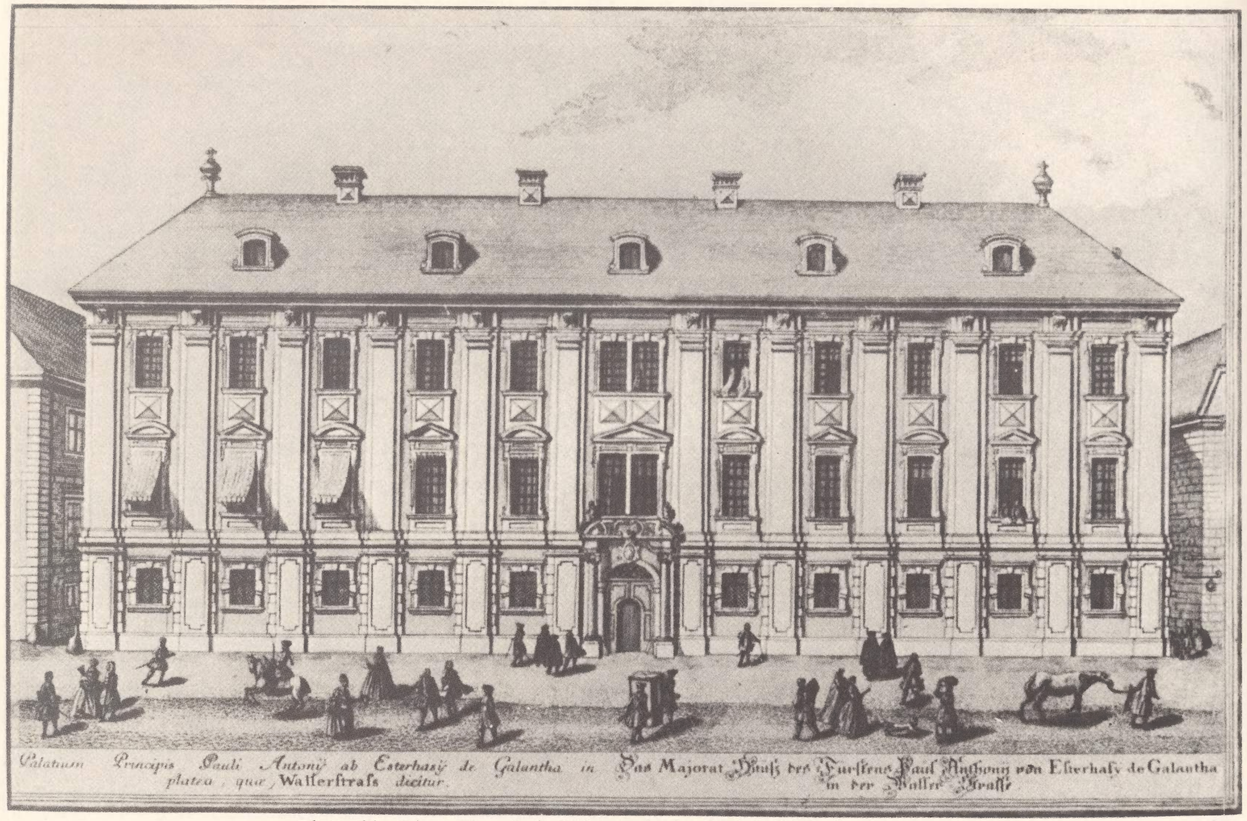
Of course a towering masterpiece like No. 77 must inevitably put into the shade its companions, rather like (to continue Irving Kolodin's metaphor) the first time one sees "The Night Watchman" in the great Museum at Amsterdam: which physically and intellectually dominated an entire room, to the detriment of many other good paintings. This is by way of saying that Symphonies Nos. 76 and 78 are fine works, with many delightful details, whose misfortune is to have been

Court life at Eszterháza.

lalaunched with a work of towering stature. In No. 76 we nnotice the elegance of the first movement – and remember ththat this is obviously a deliberate effort on the part of ththe composer, as the letter to Boyer tells us – with the alalmost Christian Bachish sophistication of the *pianissimo* sesecond subject. The second movement is a beautiful *AAdagio, ma non troppo;* what strikes us at once is the SiSchubertian section beginning in B flat minor (bars 2020ff.), with the sustained wind instruments and the pipulsating strings underneath; shortly thereafter there is a ststormy section in G minor, where the basic pulse is sesemiquavers, the melody in demisemiquavers. To conclude this interesting movement there is a six-four chord and a cadenza.

In Symphony No. 78 in C minor – the first work in a minor key that Haydn had written in more than a decade – the first movement reminds one of the glorious *Sturm und Drang* symphonies of the late 1760s and early 1770s. Only Haydn has changed a great deal in the decade. His interest has shifted to operas (*per forza*, since the shift was also that of his patron, Prince Nicolaus), and the symphony now takes a definite second place in Haydn's *oeuvre*. Altogether, Haydn's principal interest almost all his life was in vocal music: he may have gone down in history as the father of the string quartet and symphony (which he was not, at least not of the symphony), but his heart was in opera, mass and cantata. To prove it, you need only to listen to his greatest work of 1782: the *Missa Cellensis* in C (*Mariazellermesse*), which sweeps away, like a *tramontana* moving across the Apennines, the symphonies as if they had not existed. This Mass is the real Haydn, just as time and time again, you feel Haydn's tiger strength in *La fedeltà premiata, suaviter in modo, fortiter in re:* not an adage you would ever apply to a Haydn symphony of 1782.

Except, perhaps, No. 78's first movement, where the


Palatium Principis Pauli Antonij ab Esterhazy de Galantha in platea, quae Wallerstrass dicitur
Das Majorat Hauß des Fürstens Paul Anthony von Esterhazy de Galantha in der Wallre Strasse

The Esterházy Palace in Vienna (in the Wallnerstrasse), where Haydn lived during the winter season.

unison opening subject, so like the Haydn of 1772, is turned into a contrapuntal *tour-de-force* in the development section, the countersubject being part of the second theme. The rest of the symphony does not, and deliberately not, live up to the bold promise of its opening *Vivace*: *Sturm und Drang* has come and gone, and Haydn is no longer the Angry Young Man of Central European music: on the contrary, he is the spokesman of the Parisian and Viennese drawing-room. And thus the Symphony starts in C minor, goes to E flat for its second movement, to C major for the *Menuetto*, and to a light-hearted rondo for the Finale: it begins in C minor, but there is a C major foil, and C major is bound to win.

THE SYMPHONIES OF 1783–1784: Nos. 79–81.

As readers will have observed, in 1782 Haydn began to write symphonies in series. There is no doubt that the publishing world dictated this new approach to the form. Publishers preferred, for obvious reasons, to issue works in groups of two or three, or even six. Previously Haydn had written quartets in groups of six (from "Opus 17" of 1771 on); and his later quartets were published in this fashion. The next *genre* to fall into the group treatment was the piano trio, which Haydn now began to compose in groups of three. From 1782 to 1795 – the year of the final Haydn symphony – Haydn wrote all his symphonies in groups of three or six: three in 1782 for London (Nos. 76–78); three in 1783–4 for Haydn's syndicated group of publishers in Vienna, Paris and London (with extra profit from sales to M. Guera of Lyon and Herr Hummel of Berlin); six (Nos. 82–87) for the Concert de la Loge Olympique in Paris in 1785–6; three for Comte d'Ogny in Paris in 1788–9 (Nos. 90–92); six for the Salomon concerts in London in 1791–2 (Nos. 93–97); three for Salomon's concerts in 1794 (Nos. 99–101); and the final three for the Opera Concerts of 1795 (Nos. 102–104).

There were certain advantages to the group system: the sale to publishers was obviously of primary import-

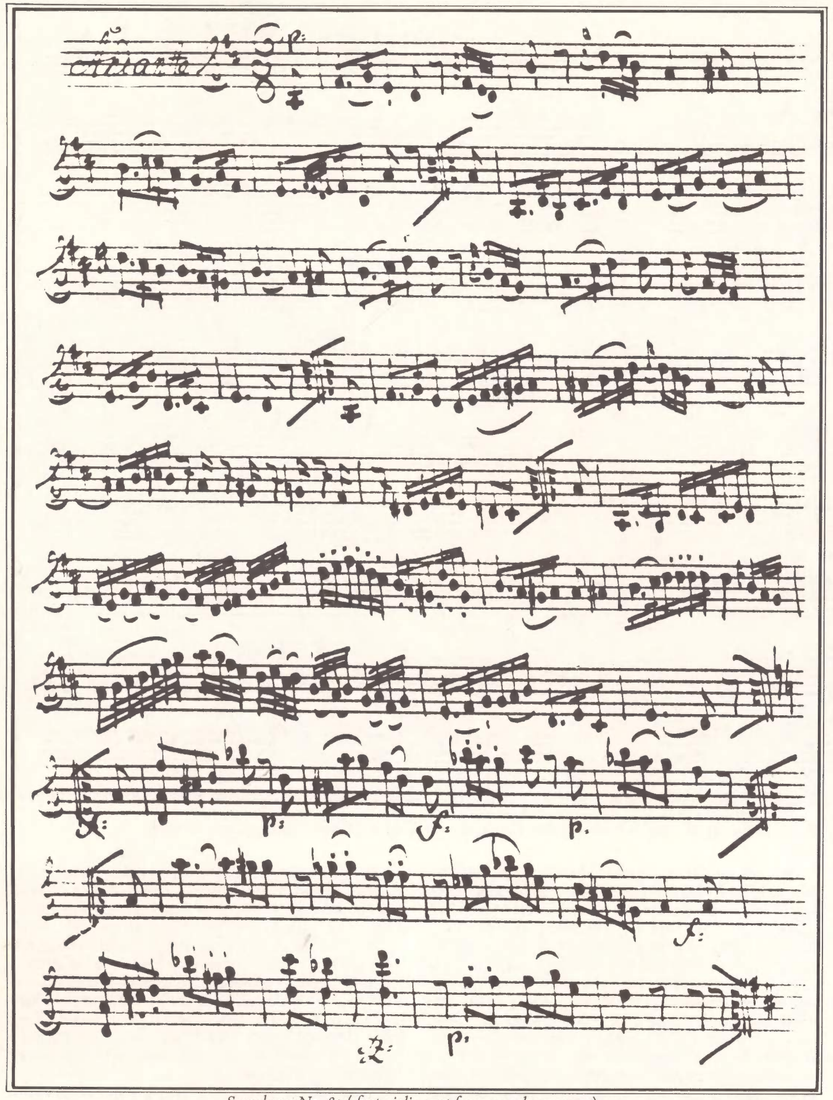
Symphony No. 79 (part of second and third movements).
The original performance material copied by Johann Radnitzky (d. 1790) and others (Prince Dettingen—Wallerstein Archives, Harburg Castle, Bavaria).

ance: but also the possibility of choosing different keys, different moods and different orchestration appealed to composers: and not only Haydn. Mozart felt the urge, when he wrote his last three symphonies in 1788 (K. 543, 550, 551), possibly using as his tonal model the Artaria edition of the first three *Paris* symphonies by Haydn, which interestingly enough appeared in the order: E flat (84), G minor (83) and C major (82). In 1782–1784, Haydn scored all six symphonies identically; he was never to do so again until the London period.

Symphony No. 79 in F; Symphony No. 80 in D minor; Symphony No. 81 in G. Scoring: 1 flute, 2 oboes, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, strings.

Our colleague Marc Vignal thinks that the language of No. 79 looks forward to the sophisticated elegance of the Lyra Concerti for the King of Naples (1786). There is no doubt that Haydn had now perfected his "popular" language, polished it to a blinding brilliance. It is also interesting to observe that there are three distinct schools of young composers who patterned their music on Haydn: one set began to write in the Haydn manner about 1770 (foremost among them J. B. Vanhal, some of whose copies are as good as the originals); another set wrote in Haydn's "popular" manner of the period *c.* 1780 (foremost among them: Adalbert Gyrowetz and Haydn's own pupil Ignaz Pleyel); and a final group patterned their music either after the London Symphonies (typical cases in point: Friedrich Witt and J. J. André) or after the late Masses and oratorios. Many of these counterfeit products (some of a high quality) were pirated and published, especially in France, where *anno* 1780, half the published works of Haydn were spurious. As knowledge of all this reached Haydn, he determined to compile a catalogue to show what he had actually written; and thus there came into being the Elssler Catalogue of 1805, named after Johann Elssler, Haydn's faithful factotum and copyist and the son of Joseph Elssler (died 1782), who had been Haydn's copyist at Eszterháza.

The popularity of the new 1783-4 symphonies even



Symphony No. 81 (first violin part from second movement).
The original performance material for Eszterháza (Esterházy Archives, Budapest.)

surpassed that of the 1782 works. For one thing, Haydn had now got the knack of simultaneous European distribution; for apart from the sales to the various printers in London, Paris, Lyon, Berlin and Vienna, he also made manuscript copies and sold them to various clients in Germany and Austria: these works were sold to the Prince Thurn und Taxis of Regensburg and to Prince Oettingen-Wallerstein, an old admirer of Haydn's.

There are always touches, even in this elegant music, to remind one of the vast difference between Pleyel and Haydn. Take the first movement of No. 79, for example. Up to bar 123 it could have been by Pleyel or Gyrowetz; that is to say, up to the middle of the recapitulation; bars 123-132 are the work of a great genius: bold, new, and doubly effective coming, as they do, in the midst of a conventional setting.

There is an extreme purity about the *Adagio cantabile*, an innocence which is particularly striking in the long passages where the bass line is given to the violoncello in repeated semiquavers (*e.g.* bars 17*ff*). At the end the music breaks off and we get a curious little *Kehraus* (the "go-home" music in an Austrian dance series), which sounds like a Hungarian folk tune (why is one reminded of Enesco's First Roumanian Rhapsody?) and although in a speeded-up tempo (*un poco allegro*) and in F major, it sounds mournful and brings the whiff of the *Puszta* with it.

If Talleyrand, talking of life before 1789, had wanted to choose one piece of music to sum up all that was dignified, beautiful *and* typical of the age, he might have chosen this miracle of a *Menuetto*, whose stately beauty is graced by Haydn's most ingenious orchestration (that oboe line in bars 21*ff*. or that flute entrance at 58 and 60!).

Haydn, too, has now solved the problem of the finale. His Finales now sound, every one of them, like closing movements. This is partly because he almost always chooses the rondo form, partly from the way he constructs his themes, partly because of the "quick" metres (*i.e.* 2/4 or barred C). As time went on he was to marry off the sonata and rondo forms, creating finales of wiry intellectual strength as well as wit and brilliance, as in the concluding movements of the *Surprise*, *Military* and, most perfect of all finales, the *Clock*, symphonies. No. 79's Finale is a classic example of a Haydnesque rondo in the 1780s, with typically contrasting sections in F minor and B flat, stuttering lead-backs (a bewitching one here, at bars 213*ff*.) and a rousing *ff* finish. As Roger Fiske once said, apropos of another Haydn work, you can't *not* like this movement.

Symphony No. 80 is a mock-heroic symphony. The ferocious beginning cannot possibly prepare us for the waltz-like second subject. The violent contrast is carried a step further in the development, where statements of this waltz are separated by a tense extension of the first subject (bars 93-109). To clinch matters, Haydn ends in D major.

The tonal scheme is almost the same, *mutatis mutandis*, as in No. 78. Second movement in the relative major (here: B flat); third movement in the tonic minor and major (in No. 78 all in the major); Finale in the tonic major (in No. 78 minor and major). In other words, there is not

very very much minor at all in this symphony; it was not the time nor place for it, either. Haydn at this point in his life was as the Great Entertainer, whether for Prince Esterházy or the international music market. Great Entertainers do not not write *Sturm und Drang* symphonies, and by the time Haydn came back from London to write the *Nelson Mass* and the *Creation*, Europe was a very changed place and he a very very changed man . . .

Are Are we imagining things if we read into the chromaticismism of bars 7 or 15 of Symphony No. 80's slow movement a Mozartian influence? Probably, because Mozart's great – indeed heroic – friendship with Haydn really really began a year later in 1785, and Haydn was only in Vienna for a few weeks each year. Still it *is* curious that not only here but even more in the second subject of No. 80. 81's first movement we should feel the mercurial Mozartian touch.

ThThere is very surprising explosion in the middle of the slow movement's exposition, and this contrast is continued throughout this interesting and unconventional movement. Speaking of Mozart and Haydn, many readers will perhaps not know that Mozart studied Haydn's symphonies carefully: we have a sheet on which Mozart jotted down the beginnings of Symphonies 47, 62 and 75: works which he probably wanted to conduct in his "s "Academy" concerts. Mozart heard just one Haydn opera, but it obviously made a deep impression on him: *La fedeltà premiata*, when it was given at the Vienna Court Theatre late in 1784 by Schikaneder. Is it an accident that the friendship between the two men seems to have begun then? Can Mozart have gone backstage to congratulate Haydn? It would seem a plausible beginning to that historic friendship. Mozart also saw Haydn operas in score, for recently a piece of Haydn's *Armida* (1784) in Mozart's handwriting has come to light. In any event, once they met, neither's music was ever the same again.

No. 80 is altogether not a conventional work, even if its D minor is not the Mozartian D minor of K. 466. The Trio of the *Menuetto* is another extraordinary movement: like the reverse of the old Gregorian *incipit lamentatio* melody that Haydn had used in Symphony No. 26 and again in the Trio of that great F sharp minor Symphony (No. 45, *Farewell*) which is famous for the wrong reasons. The colouring, with the oboe and horn doubling the melody, is also highly original and effective.

The Finale is a brilliant *tour-de-force*. The Berliners will have thought it flippant: as late as 1792 the north Germans were still bitterly complaining about Haydn's humour, which they loathed, being reared on the stern, flighty brilliance of C. P. E. Bach. The Italians won't have been able to play it for technical reasons; from their once undefeated citadel of world domination, Italian composers now dominated only opera. Symphony and string quartet were not to their liking or in accord with their temperament. Gradually Italian music became completely isolated, and technically far behind her northern neighbours; in 1829 they were telling Mendelssohn with great pride that they had managed to get through the *Creation*, a work which presented them with horrendous technical difficulties. In 1794, Dies (Haydn's later biographer and a good landscape painter) tells us that Haydn symphonies were as good as unknown in Rome. But apart from these two uncongenial centres, Haydn's muse, *pace* this madcap Finale, was an uproarious success all over Europe. The English used to call this kind of thing Mr. Hayden's "phrenzied" style. The main theme is wildly syncopated, so that we do not get on our feet, with the metre, until bars 32*ff*. The development section is excellently worked out, at first very droll (with quacking woodwind, bars 110*ff*.), then mock heroic (after all, the work began its life in D minor, a key with emotional responsibilities . . .), and as always, very pithy. It ends with a favourite device: three identical chords, preceded by two cadential lead-ins. You will find it in many Haydn symphonies, such as *La Reine*, the *Oxford* or the *Clock*. It is one of these peculiar stylistic features that enable us, in the Berenson manner, to distinguish Haydn (and his school or imitators) from, say, Mozart, where you almost never find an ending of that kind.

The greatest thing about No. 81 is its marvellous opening, with that F natural: again, here is Haydn rather than Gyrowetz . . . Apart from the opening, the most striking thing about the Symphony is its sleek elegance: the second subject starts out like Christian Bach (or Haydn of the Lyra Concerti) and ends up as Mozart (where *did* Haydn get those slithering chromatics, otherwise?). The *Andante* is very light weight but with a flash of great beauty in the second section of the "minore" part (bars 20*ff*.).

The *Menuetto* is very Breugel-ish, stamping peasant feet (the horns slamming the crotchets home) and altogether very rustic. The Trio is a dead-pan little tune which suddenly ends up in the minor, reminding us that Eszterháza is in Hungary. Haydn flirted all his life with Gypsy-*cum*-Hungarian folk music, and its introduction into his quartets (*e.g.* Op. 20, No. 4), operas (*Lo speziale*, Act III), symphonies (No. 103's second movement) and piano trios (*The Gypsy Rondo*) delighted fashionable Europe.

The Finale is once again rather cool, emotionally. It marks the end of Haydn the Great Entertainer. For in this year (or in 1785) two commissions arrived from far-off places which would much change Haydn the man as well as Haydn the musician, the second obviously acting on the first, as with all artists. The first was a request, from Cadiz in Spain, for an oratorio without words on The Seven Words of the Saviour on the Cross; the other a proposal to write six large symphonies for the Parisian Concert de la Loge Olympique; both of which commissions Haydn accepted and which greatly liberated his spirit from the rigorous and time-consuming duties as opera *Capellmeister* at Eszterháza. It was time Haydn had a change; but he could not imagine that six years after No. 81 had been safely packaged and sent to Lyon, Berlin, Vienna, Paris and London, the court life at Eszterháza would come to an end forever.

H. C. Robbins Landon,
Buggiano Castello, 1970

Joseph Haydn. Silhouette by Hieronymus Löschenkohl (1785).

Booklet Cover: JOSEPH HAYDN, oil painting by Johann Carl Roesler, 1799.

Haydn: The Symphonies (82-92) Sinfonia Concertante
The Philharmonia Hungarica conducted by Antal Dorati

SIDE ONE
SYMPHONY No. 82 in C major "L'Ours"
1. *Vivace assai* (8:00)
2. *Allegretto* (7:30)
3. *Menuet e trio* (4:30)
4. FINALE: *Vivace* (5:35)

SIDE TWO
SYMPHONY No. 83 in G minor "La Poule"
1. *Allegro spiritoso* (7:45)
2. *Andante* (5:45)
3. *Menuet e trio—Allegretto* (4:30)
4. FINALE: *Vivace* (4:50)

SIDE THREE
SYMPHONY No. 84 in E flat major
1. *Largo-Allegro* (7:25)
2. *Andante* (6:30)
3. *Menuet e trio—Allegretto* (4:00)
4. FINALE: *Vivace* (6:00)

SIDE FOUR
SYMPHONY No. 85 in B flat major "La Reine"
1. *Adagio—Vivace* (7:25)
2. *Romance—Allegretto* (6:55)
3. *Menuetto e trio—Allegretto* (4:50)
4. FINALE: *Presto* (3:20)

SIDE FIVE
SYMPHONY No. 86 in D major
1. *Adagio—Allegro spiritoso* (8:05)
2. *Capriccio—Largo* (6:45)
3. *Menuet e trio—Allegretto* (7:00)
4. FINALE: *Allegro con spirito* (6:25)

SIDE SIX
SYMPHONY No. 87 in A major
1. *Vivace* (7:35)
2. *Adagio* (7:00)
3. *Menuet e trio* (4:30)
4. FINALE: *Vivace* (4:35)

SIDE SEVEN
SYMPHONY No. 88 in G major
1. *Adagio—Allegro* (6:20)
2. *Largo* (5:40)
3. *Menuetto e trio—Allegretto* (4:35)
4. FINALE: *Allegro con spirito* (3:40)

SIDE EIGHT
SYMPHONY No. 89 in F major
1. *Vivace* (6:50)
2. *Andante con moto* (6:00)
3. *Menuet e trio—Allegretto* (4:05)
4. FINALE: *Vivace assai* (4:30)

SIDE NINE
SYMPHONY No. 90 in C major
1. *Adagio—Allegro assai* (6:35)
2. *Andante* (7:05)
3. *Menuet e trio* (5:25)
4. FINALE: *Allegro assai* (4:35)

SIDE TEN
SYMPHONY No. 91 in E flat major
1. *Largo—Allegro assai* (8:15)
2. *Andante* (6:50)
3. *Menuet e trio—Uu poco Allegretto* (4:55)
4. FINALE: *Vivace* (5:30)

SIDE ELEVEN
SYMPHONY No. 92 in G major "Oxford"
1. *Adagio—Allegro spiritoso* (7:45)
2. *Adagio* (6:40)
3. *Menuet e trio—Allegretto* (6:05)
4. *Presto* (5:25)

SIDE TWELVE
SINFONIA CONCERTANTE in B flat major
1. *Allegro* (9:05)
2. *Andante* (4:00)
3. *Allegro con spirito* (6:30)

ISTVÁN ENGL—*oboe*, LÁSZLÓ BARANYAI—*bassoon*,
IGOR OZIM—*violin*, ZOLTAN RÁCZ—*cello*

Antal Dorati.

Antal Dorati

Antantal Dorati was born in Budapest in 1906, and his parents, both musicians, recognised his talents and sent him at the age of fourteereen to the Academy of Music in Budapest. His teachers were Z Zoltan Kodály, Béla Bartók and Leo Weiner. He graduatuated at eighteen as composer, pianist and conductor, and was thethe youngest person in the history of the Academy to receive we a degree.

Soonon after, he was appointed conductor of the Royal Opera House se in Budapest, where he worked for four years. In 1928 he wenvent to Dresden as the assistant of Fritz Busch. Between 1928 aand 1933 he was principal conductor of the Opera House in Munsunster, at the same time appearing as guest conductor at several al other Opera Houses in Germany, and with orchestras in manyny major musical centres.

In 1934 he joined the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo, and seven yn years later was appointed Musical Director of the Ballet Theatre. Meanwhile in 1937 he made his American debut as a symphonic conductor at an all-Beethoven concert with the National Symphony Orchestra of Washington D.C., and during 1939–40 made an extensive tour of Australia. Returning to the States, Dorati became Director of the New Opera Company in New York.

In 1945 he left the Ballet Theatre and was charged with the organisation of the Dallas Symphony Orchestra, and in 1949 he became Musical Director of the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra, and during his eleven years with them, he was responsible for numerous commissions, world premieres, and American premieres of important works.

From 1963 to 1966 Antal Dorati was Chief Conductor to the BBC Symphony Orchestra, and took the orchestra on a tour of Switzerland in October 1964, and the United States in the Spring of 1965. He has also made a return to opera, and conducts guest performances at Covent Garden, London, the Wiener Staatsoper, the Opera House, Rome, the Hamburg Opera and Maggio Musicale in Florence. He is now principal conductor of the Stockholm Philharmonic Orchestra and with him the orchestra made its first tour of the United States in 1968 with such success that a return tour was arranged for 1970. In October 1970, Antal Dorati was appointed chief conductor of the National Symphony Orchestra, Washington D.C., in addition to his commitments with the Stockholm orchestra.

When the Philharmonia Hungarica was formed in Vienna in 1957, from refugee musicians who had fled Hungary during the 1956 revolution, Antal Dorati was one of the orchestra's first conductors. He made several recordings with them during this period, so that the London project of recording the complete Haydn symphonies with Dorati and the Philharmonia Hungarica represents the renewal of a long-standing association.

Philharmonia Hungarica

Amumong the hundreds of thousands of refugees who left their home e country during the Hungarian Revolution in the late Autumumn of 1956 were many musicians, who set out for the free w world with their instruments as their only possessions. It was ye yet another instance of the tragic tradition of the Hungarian historyry of culture, which, over two decades ago, Béla Bartók summened up in these poignant words: ". . . One must get away from h here, no matter where to . . .".

Frorom among these exiled musicians, who, almost without exceptiption, came from the leading Hungarian Symphony Orchehestras – as for example the Hungarian National Philhaharmonia, the Budapest Radio Orchestra and State Opera Orchehestra – the Philharmonia Hungarica was formed in Viennana, in the Spring of 1957, thanks to the spontaneous and generorous assistance of several philanthropic organizations, mainlyly the Congress for the Freedom of Culture, the Rockefeller Foundndation, the Ford Foundation, the International Rescue Commmittee and the Swiss Committee for Aid to the Freedom Fighteters of Hungary.

Soon the artists resumed their serious artistic work, which, in a very short time, assured a leading place for this ensemble in the international music world.

The enthusiastic approval met with again and again by them during their many tours in Europe and North America, as well as during musical festivals, is a proof of the importance and vitality of this orchestra.

It is all to the credit of the cultural policy of the Federal German Republic, the regions of North Rhine-Westphalia and the city of Marl, to have recognized the unique value of the Philharmonia Hungarica, and, through generous financial assistance, to have assured the continued existence of an internationally appreciated orchestra.

Many of the members of the Orchestra are winners of valuable music prizes and have successfully taken part in international music competitions. The Ramor Quartet, consisting of instrumentalists from the string sections, gained first prize in the Geneva International Music Competition in 1957, and in 1962 the same prize was awarded to the Wind Quintet of the Philharmonia Hungarica.

Several of the members of the Philharmonia Hungarica were attracted to the career of soloist, others distinguished themselves through invitations to perform with renowned European and American Orchestras. And yet they all resolved, out of a sense of artistic integrity and patriotism, to remain loyal to the commitment of their own orchestra.

As an instance of the reputation enjoyed by the Orchestra with international audiences and press, let me quote the words which a Greek critic wrote on the occasion of a series of concerts at the 1962 Athens International Festival: "Our country – Music! That is the message of religious and patriotic faith one almost hears at a performance of the Philharmonia Hungarica. One also gets the impression that these men and women, who were forced to leave their country against their will, have brought with them, and preserved, not only the music, but – a particle of their home country!"

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Haydn in France. In January 1764, the Parisian musical world took note of a new edition of "Six Symphonies ou Quatuors Dialogués . . . Composés par Mr Hayd'en [*sic*] Maître de Musique à Vienne" which the well-known publisher de la Chevardière brought out. Actually, the works were not symphonies at all but Haydn's early string quartets, now known to us as Opus 1; and moreover, Chevardière was actually issuing a second edition of these already popular works (the first had, instead of the final two string quartets, two flute quartets by the Mannheim composer Toeschi). Two months later, Parisian journals announced a new entry in a series of symphonies by "Noms inconnus, bons à connaître": No. 14 "Del Sigr Heyden" which Venier, a successful Parisian house, was in the process of issuing. The work was Haydn's Symphony No. 2 in C. In the same year, Chevardière issued six Haydn string Trios. From that point until Haydn's death in 1809, Parisian publishers made a fortune on his music which, at least until the early 1780s, was mostly published without his approval and with no financial benefit to him whatever. This extraordinary state of affairs, whereby a publisher could simply pirate a composer's works or an author's books, persisted in most of Europe until the nineteenth century.

But if Haydn never saw a penny from all this publication in Paris during the mid 1760s, he must have heard that his works were extremely successful in France. Viennese bookshops actually imported some of these French prints: van Ghelen offered for sale in January 1772 three Haydn symphonies printed by Huberty in Paris, and Ghelen or others may have done so before that date. In any case, by the beginning of December 1767, Haydn will have had information about his popularity in Paris from an authentic source. For in November 1767, Prince Nicolaus Esterházy travelled to the French capital; in his entourage there was his personal secretary, his *Haushofmeister*, his architect, his "Travelling Commissioner" (*Reisekommissär*), five *valets-de-chambre* (among them a barber and a blackamoor named Zibas), his gun-master, a page, two runners and Luigi Tomasini, leader of the Esterházy orchestra. Prince Nicolaus also stayed at Versailles, which he had seen before, in 1764 and which had been the inspiration for Eszterháza Castle in Hungary, since 1766 the principal residence of the Esterházy Court.

Prince Nicolaus left the French capital on 14 November 1767, but he gave orders for Tomasini to remain in Paris to study the musical situation in what was then unquestionably the musical centre of the world. The *Haushofmeister* gave Tomasini the handsome sum of 125 *livres* for his further sojourn. It is entirely possible that Tomasini established connections, during his further stay in Paris, with one of the principal music publishers, Jean-Georges Sieber, a German emigré who was to publish dozens of Haydn's symphonies, some in textually so accurate versions that one suspects that the composer himself furnished the engraver's copy. In any case, Haydn was in correspondence with Sieber himself at least by April 1789, and that particular letter does not sound like the first of a series but rather as if both men had been in correspondence before. But apart from Sieber, many other Parisian publishers were actively issuing Haydn in the 1760s and early 1770s; apart from Chevardière and Venier, of whom we have spoken above, there were Bailleux, "Rue St Honoré, à la Regle d'Or"; Madame Bérault "à côté de la Comédie Françoise"; Huberty, "Maître de la viol d'amour, rue des deux écus au pigon blanc" (who had a daughter who was a fine engraver; the family later went to Vienna); Mademoiselle de Silly on the Rue du Temple; Simon & Fils, "Imprimeur-libraires de S.A.S. Monseigneur le prince du Condé, rue des mathurins"; "Le Sr Borelly, rue St Victor vis-à-vis le ferme maison d'un sellier"; the Bureau d'abonnement musical on the Rue du hazard Richelieu (who were to issue the first edition of the *Farewell* Symphony in 1775); Mademoiselle Giraud "Rue du roule, à la Nouveauté"; and others.

It was not only in Paris that Haydn's music flourished. Soon the French provinces found his music not only enjoyable but profitable. In Lyon, the enterprising firm of Guera began to issue Haydn's works about 1777. The Guera copies are textually so reliable that one wonders if Haydn was in correspondence with Lyon. Actually, one of the musicians in the Esterházy orchestra had moved to Lyon. We know of this because when Prince Paul Anton died in 1762 and, because of legal complications, they put his will into probate in 1773, it was found that he had left not only Haydn a whole year's salary, but also the other musicians as well. Since eleven years had elapsed, many musicians had died, or were in pension, or had moved away to other jobs. One of them, the violinist Lucas Garnier, was located in 1778 – the year when Guera issued several Haydn works – as "Musician de la Comedie de la Ville de Lion". Can Garnier have been the go-between?

Haydn's works were, by *c.* 1770, so popular in France that the publishers could not get hold of them quickly enough; these unscrupulous ladies and gentlemen therefore procured all sorts of works by Haydn's followers in Vienna and the Austrian provinces – Haydn's brother Johann Michael in Salzburg, Ditters (later von Dittersdorf), Carlos d'Ordoñez, Leopold Hofmann, J. B. Vanhal (the most talented of them all), *etc., etc.*, – and published their works under Haydn's name. Entire *opera* of forged Haydn thus appeared in Paris. M. Bailleux was so unscrupulous as to procure for himself six Haydn-sounding string quartets by a monk from the Monastery of Amorbach in northern Bavaria, one Pater Roman(us) Hofstetter (Hofstätter); Bailleux had them engraved about 1776-7 as "Signor Hofstetter", but then erased the name from the plate and substituted that of Haydn; with a handsome new title page, these six quartets went out into the world and became world-famous as "Opus 3", especially the one with the Serenade, the most famous work that bears (wrongly) Haydn's name. In fact, as many spurious Haydns as real ones appeared in Paris from 1765-1775, but from 1775 to 1780 *more* spurious than real Haydn compositions were published in France.

Still, the really great hits of the period – for the spurious Opus 3 Quartets did not become famous till the nineteenth century – were genuine Haydn. Symphony No. 56 in C (1774) made its Parisian début in the 1776-7 season at the Concert Spirituel and the Concert des Amateurs and was engraved three times at the end of 1777 and beginning of 1778: by Guera (who now had a Paris office on the Place des Terreaux), by Sieber and by Mademoiselle de Silly. It was Haydn's biggest hit abroad – *i.e.* out of Austria – up to that date.

The next great success was Haydn's *Stabat Mater* (1767). The composer writes about the latest news from the French capital in a letter to his Viennese publishers, Artaria & Co., on 27 May 1781:

> Now something from Paris. Monsieur Le Gros, *Directeur* of the Concert Spirituel, wrote me the most flattering things about my *Stabat Mater*, which was performed there four times with the greatest applause; the gentlemen asked permission to have it engraved. [Sieber later brought out the full score.] They made me an offer to engrave all my future works on the most favourable terms for myself, and were most surprised that I was so singularly successful in my vocal compositions; but I wasn't at all surprised, for they have not yet heard anything. If they only could hear my operetta *L'isola disabitata* [Eszterháza, December 1779] and my most recent opera, *La fedeltà premiata* [Eszterháza, February 1781], I assure you that no such work has been heard in Paris up to now, nor perhaps in Vienna either; my misfortune is that I live in the country.

After all this chronicle of French success, it is not astonishing that the Parisians soon seized the initiative, and with the practical results that all the Symphonies recorded in this album were composed directly for, or were otherwise sold to, Paris. In particular, we owe the existence of Haydn's famous *Paris* Symphonies to a remarkable French aristocrat: Claude-François-Marie Rigoley, Comte d'Ogny (1757-1790), one of the backers of the celebrated Parisian concert organization, "Le Concert de la Loge Olympique". This group of Free Masons (which brotherhood Haydn was to join in February 1785), led by the young d'Ogny, decided to commission from Haydn six new symphonies. Since d'Ogny played such an important rôle in Haydn's symphonic career, a few words about Haydn's long-distance patron may not be amiss.

D'Ogny was born at Dijon in September 1757, the second child of Claude-Jean Rigoley, baron d'Ogny, and Elisabeth d'Alencé (the title of count comes from his mother's side of the family). The name was an old and respected one, whose history can be traced back to the fifteenth century. D'Ogny's father was *Intendant Général des Postes*, a position which his son inherited in 1785; Ogny *père* was also a backer of the Concert des Amateurs, and apparently music played an important part in the family life. The now famous "Catalogue de la Musique de Monsieur Le Comte d'Ogny" (British Museum), discovered by Barry Brook in 1954, shows that the Count owned, and, in Mr. Brook's words, "une des plus riches collections musicales privées qui aient jamais été rassemblées au XVIII^e siècle".

The correspondence between the Concert de la Loge Olympique and Haydn has not, unfortunately, survived; but H. H. Barbette, writing in *Le Menestrel* of 1871, gives us some valuable details as to the negotiations, which must have begun in 1784 or early in 1785. It seems that the Comte d'Ogny asked the *chef d'orchestre*, le Chevalier Joseph-Bologne de Saint-Georges – a swashbuckling lady-killer who was himself a prolific composer – to write to Haydn and settle the details. The Concert agreed to pay Haydn 25 *louis d'or* for each of the six symphonies, "ce qui avait paru à Haydn un prix colossal, car jusqu'alors ses symphonies ne lui avaient rien rapporté", and a further 5 *louis d'or* for the publication rights.

Haydn wrote two of the symphonies (Nos. 83 and 87), and possibly a third (No. 85) in 1785, and three (Nos. 82, 84, 86) in 1786. The autographs of five have survived, and all appear once to have belonged to the music library of the Comte d'Ogny; for there is a note, on the title page of the autograph of No. 82, to the effect that the manuscript was sold at "la vente de feu Cte d'ogni le 10 février 1791", the Count having died on 4 October 1790, leaving 100,000 livres in debts.

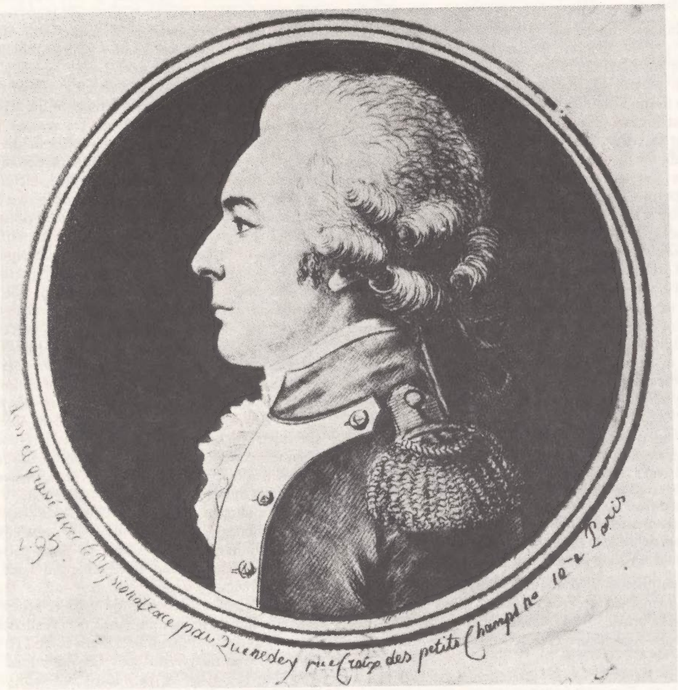
Parisian orchestras of this period were much larger than those of the Austrian and German provincial courts; and much larger, too, than Haydn's own modest band of twenty-four at Eszterháza Castle. The Concert de la Loge Olympique, "rempli indépendamment des professeurs par les plus habiles amateurs de Paris", boasted some forty violins and ten double-basses. The musicians wore splendid "sky-blue" dress coats with elaborate lace ruffles and played with swords at their sides. A contemporary engraving of the "Salle de Spectacle de la Société Olympique" shows us that it was a sort of theatre, with boxes in tiers. The concerts were patronized by the nobility, and Marie Antoinette found the B flat Symphony her favourite: when Imbault engraved the authentic first edition in parts, No. 85 bore the proud title *La Reine de France*. (Incidentally, Louis XVI was fond of Haydn, too: among the *Musique du Roy 1784* preserved in the Bibliothèque du Conservatoire at Paris is Symphony No. 53.)

The first performances of the *Paris* Symphonies appear to have taken place in the season of 1787. They were soon given by the Concert Spirituel as well; the influential *Mercure de France* wrote:

> On a exécuté à tous les Concerts [l'année dernière] des Symphonies de M. Haydn. Chaque jour on sent mieux, & par conséquent on admire davantage les productions de ce vaste génie, qui, dans chacun des ses morceaux, fait si bien, d'un sujet unique, tirer les développmens si riches & si variés; bien différent des ces Compositeurs stériles, qui passent continuellement d'une idée à l'autre, faute d'en savoir présenter une sous des formes variées, & entassent mécaniquement des effets sur des effets, sans liaison & sans goût. Les Symphonies de M. Haydn, toujours sûres de leur effet, en produiroient encore davantage, si la salle étoit plus sonore.

In January 1788, the same *Mercure de France* printed the proud announcement of the Parisian music publisher Imbault, who advertised for sale the six new works. "Ces Symphonies", continues the notice, "du plus beau caractère & d'une facture étonnante, ne peuvent manquer d'être recherchées avec le plus vif empressement par ceux qui ont eu le bonheur de les entendre, & même par ceux qui ne les connoisent pas. Le nom d'Haydn répond de leur mérite extraordinaire." Imbault went to particular pains to state, on the title page of his edition, that it was "Gravé d'après les Partitions originales appartenant à la Loge olympique".

Haydn meanwhile had not been idle with his new *Paris* Symphonies, for he sold them to William Forster of London (the engraving mss. are still extant, now in the British Museum) and also to Artaria of Vienna. Since we do not know the order in which Haydn composed them, we list the various orders of the prints: Imbault's is Nos. 83, 87, 85, 82, 86, 84; Artaria's, on explicit written instructions by Haydn, should have been 87, 85, 83, 84,



Count Claude-François-Marie d'Ogny. Engraving by Edma Quenedey, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.

86, 82; both these orders do not contradict the dated autographs, whereas that of Forster (82, 87, 85, 84, 83, 86), though also suggested by Haydn himself on the title pages of the engraving mss., is certainly not chronological.

Symphonies Nos. 88 and 89 were probably both composed in 1787 – only No. 89's autograph is preserved – and were intended for Paris, like their numerical predecessors. Haydn heard that Johann Tost, one of the violinists in the Esterházy band, was going to Paris; so he gave Tost his two new Symphonies to sell as best Tost could. In fact that violinist was a rather unscrupulous gentleman, for he not only sold the two new Symphonies to Sieber but also a third one, actually by Adalbert Gyrowetz, in G major. Gyrowetz, when he arrived in Paris just after the Symphony had appeared under Haydn's name, had great difficulty in persuading French musicians that he, not Haydn, was the real author. Sinister rumours of *Herr* Tost's nefarious activities reached Eszterháza, and we find Haydn writing to Sieber on 5 April 1789: "*Herr* Tost has no rights at all to the six pianoforte Sonatas and has thus swindled you . . . Now I would ask you to tell me candidly just how, and in what fashion, *Herr* Tost behaved in Paris. Did he have an *Amour* there?". Soon Artaria was dragged into the *affaire* Tost. on 5 July 1789, Haydn writes to his Viennese publishers:

> Now I would like to know the truth about something: that is, from whom you procured the 2 new Symphonies which you recently announced [Nos. 88, 89] – whether you purchased them from *Herr* Tost or whether you got them already engraved from *Herr* Sieber in Paris. If you purchased them from *Herr* Tost, I beg you to furnish me at once with an *a parte* written assurance of the fact, because I am told that *Herr* Tost pretends that I sold these 2 Symphonies to you and thereby caused him a great loss.

The Symphonies also arrived swiftly in London and were performed at the Professional Concert in 1789 and immediately printed by Longman & Broderip; it is not known from whom they received the two works.

One of Haydn's many patrons abroad was Kraft Ernst, Prince of Oettingen-Wallerstein, who maintained a famous orchestra in his pretty castle at Wallerstein in southern Germany. On 3 February 1788, Haydn wrote to the Prince's agent in Vienna, thanking him for all the compliments which the Prince had paid to Haydn, but regretting that he had not the time to compose the three new symphonies that the Prince would have liked to have. The princely agent continued to urge Haydn to write the three new symphonies, however, and circumstances soon enabled the Prince to get the desired works after all.

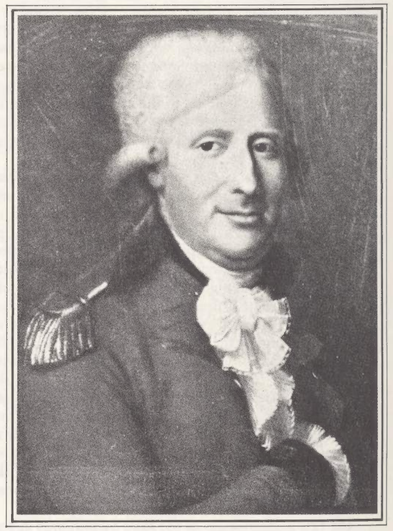
The circumstances came once again from Paris, and more specifically from Monseigneur le Comte d'Ogny, who seems to have asked Haydn to write three more symphonies for the Concert de la Loge Olympique. Haydn, who was a shrewd businessman, decided to satisfy both of his "corresponding patrons" (if we may misuse the French Academy's term, corresponding member) and in that same year 1788 composed two new Symphonies: Nos. 90 and 91. The autographs of both turned up in this century, No. 91 only in 1949, to disappear into the bank vault of an eccentric New York dowager until 1969, when the writer of these notes was able to examine it in detail at the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York. Comte d'Ogny owned both autographs, and that of No. 91 is specifically dedicated to him in Haydn's own hand "pour Mons. le Comte d'Ogny". In 1789, that fateful year which was perhaps the turning point of history after the fall of the Roman Empire, Haydn completed the third of the series, No. 92 in G (later known as the *Oxford* for reasons which will soon be made clear); its autograph was discovered at Paris in 1956, when the Bibliothèque Nationale, to which organization the MS. had been willed, included it in a Mozart exhibition. That MS., too, is dedicated to Haydn's Parisian patron: "Pour son Excellence Monseigneur le Comte d'Ogny". Having sent off, sometime in the Summer of 1789, the autograph manuscripts to Paris, Haydn was obliged to send orchestral parts to Prince Kraft Ernst von Oettingen-Wallerstein; the composer posted them to the Prince's Viennese agent in the middle of October. The Prince seems to have objected to not having received autograph manuscripts, to which Haydn replied, in a letter to the agent of 29 November 1789, that his eyesight was bad and the scores were almost illegible; he included a specimen page to prove his point. The Prince also found out that he was not the sole owner of the three works, and maintained that Herr von Kees – a Viennese patron and friend of Haydn's – also had copies; which was true, because the copies Kees owned still exist (No. 90 in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna, and Nos. 91 and 92 in the Princely Thurn-und-Taxis Archives at Regensburg). The agent, however, was convinced of Haydn's innocence and seems to have persuaded the Prince that Haydn had acted in good faith. And the Prince, obviously a generous man, asked his agent to write to "Haiden" ordering three more symphonies and inviting the composer to come to Wallerstein at the Prince's expense and conduct them there. To make this offer more attractive, he sent Haydn a gold snuff-box weighing the value of 34 ducats, and with another 50 ducats in cash. As matters turned out, Haydn did visit Wallerstein; for when Prince Nicolaus Esterházy died in 1790, and Johann Peter Salomon came to Vienna to fetch Haydn to London, the two men travelled *via* Wallerstein. There was no time, in December 1790, for a longer visit, but a contemporary document from the Wallerstein Archives notes that Haydn promised to return on his way back to Vienna and pay a longer visit. We do not know whether Haydn found the time when returning, but we know that he sent to Wallerstein four of the new London Symphonies, the MS. parts of which are still preserved in the Archives (Nos. 93, 96, 97, 98), after he had got back to Vienna in 1792.

Meanwhile the French publication rights of the three new Symphonies had been assigned this time to Le Duc, who engraved the parts *Du Répertoire de la Loge Olympique* from the autograph manuscripts (Le Duc's name is even found on the autograph of No. 92). Le Duc brought them out in 1790, the year that Count d'Ogny died, and the year that freed Haydn from the isolation of Eszterháza.

When Haydn arrived in England in January 1791, he had brought with him manuscript copies of Symphonies 90 and 92, which were, he rightly calculated, not yet known in England; he forgot No. 91 and wrote back to Vienna for it. The turmoil in France was beginning to make itself felt also in such matters as the exportation of Parisian music to London; in normal times some clever British publisher would have imported the new d'Ogny Symphonies before Haydn could have launched them at Salomon's concerts. As it was, the first Symphony that Haydn performed in England was *not* No. 93 (as they used to think 100 years ago) and *not* No. 96 (as one can read even in our book on Haydn's symphonies, published in 1955) but No. 92; it was given its English première on 11 March 1791. Haydn intended to conduct it at the benefit concert of a Mr. Hayward at Oxford in May 1791, but he was prevented from doing so. In July 1791, however, when Haydn was given the degree of Doctor of Music, *honoris causa*, at Oxford University, he conducted with great success Symphony No. 92 at the Sheldonian Theatre, and from then on, the work was known as the *Oxford* Symphony.

During the 1791 season, Haydn also conducted the British première of Symphony No. 90 at one of the Salomon concerts – we cannot ascertain which. The

Kraft Ernst, Prince von Oettingen-Wallerstein. Oil painting by Hetsch, c. 1790. Prince Oettingen-Wallerstein's Library and Collection, Harburg.



publication rights for England were given to Longman & Broderip, who brought them out in November 1791 together with arrangements for piano and violin by J. L. Dusseek. Longman & Broderip made handsome engraved plates of No. 90, but apparently as they were in the middle of pre-publication work, the new Le Duc prints arrived fresh from Paris. We have copies of No. 92, but also of No. 991, in Le Duc's edition with a piece of paper pasted over the original Paris *impressum* which reads "Imported and sold by Longman & Broderip No. 26 Cheapside & No. 13 Hay Market London. Who have a regular Correspondence with all the most eminent Professors and Publishers of Music in every part of Europe". Thus Longman & Broderip never bothered to make new engravings of Nos. 91 and 92; they simply sold Le Duc's prints instead. Their principal source of income was the Dussek arrangement, which was sold much in the way that popular works today, such as Britten's *War Requiem*, are put on gramophone records for home consumption: the Dussek arrangements were for *fin-de-siècle* London drawing rooms, since (unlike their counterparts in Austria and Germany) the British aristocracy, except for the Prince of Wales, did not usually maintain private orchestras in the final decade of the eighteenth century.

Haydn had to write several times to procure a copy of Symphony No. 91, which he had forgotten to bring, from Vienna. Finally in March 1792, two copies arrived: the

Johann Peter Salomon (1745–1815). Engraving by Georg Sigismund Facius after Thomas Hardy. Vienna, Mus. d. Stadt.

score from his lady friend, Maria Anna von Genzinger, and the parts from *Freiherr* von Kees. Haydn intended to make widespread changes for the "English taste"; but if he did, they have not survived. He seems to have launched the (for London) last of these d'Ogny Symphonies on 13 April 1792, when it opened the concert as "New Grand Overture, MS. HAYDN". "A new Overture of HAYDN had all the taste, richness, and originality, which usually distinguish the compositions of that great master", wrote the *Morning Herald* the day after the concert.

Some of the *Paris* Symphonies (Nos. 82–87), and some of the remaining works composed for Paris (Nos. 88–92) have always stayed in the permanent repertoire, in particular Nos. 82 (*L'ours*), 83 (*La Poule*), 85 *La Reine de France*), 88 (known for many years in Anglo-Saxon countries as *Letter V*) and 92 (*Oxford*). Others gradually sank into obscurity. The first score of No. 84 did not appear till *c.* 1871, the first score of No. 86 *c.* 1853, the first score of No. 89 about the year 1895. Some of these new editions served to re-awaken interest in the work; this is especially true of No. 86, which at once returned to the repertoire and has never left it. On the other hand, Nos. 84 and 89 remained what the Italians call "quasi inedita" (almost as if they were not printed). The most extraordinary case of all is No. 87, which disappeared from the mainstream of music entirely. Its first modern performance took place during the famous 1939-40 season of the New Friends of Music in New York, conducted by Fritz Stiedry, when a dozen unknown Haydn symphonies by Haydn, resuscitated and edited by Alfred Einstein, were played together with a whole series of Bach concertos for the keyboard. The programme notes were brilliantly written by the young New York critic, Irving Kolodin. One of the "new" Haydns was No. 87, which was a great success. R.C.A. Victor recorded two of the works, Nos. 67 and 80, and intended to record Nos. 77 and 87; but the war and perhaps other circumstances hindered the second part of the project from taking place. The score of No. 87 was first published in 1949, edited by Alfred Einstein. In America, where No. 82 was hardly ever played, Fritz Stiedry put it into the repertoire of the New Friends of Music in an enormously powerful reading which was also broadcast, like the whole series, and privately recorded as well. As a final curiosity, we might add that the first time many people heard Haydn's Symphony No. 91 was by means of a Polydor recording on three ten-inch records with the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra conducted by Hidemaro Konoye, who was a popular Japanese guest in Berlin in the middle 1930s (he also recorded, at that time, Mozart's *Sinfonia concertante* K. 297b).

Symphony No. 82 in C (*L'ours*). Scoring: 1 flute, 2 oboes, 2 bassoons, 2 horns in C *alto* or 2 trumpets (in the first, third and final movements), 2 horns in F (second movement), timpani and strings.

The subtitle *L'ours* (*The bear*), a nineteenth-century addition, is supposed to describe a captive bear dancing to the music of the beginning of the Finale.

No. 82 is the latest in the long and distinguished series of festive symphonies in C major with high horns, in this case or trumpets, and kettledrums. It is also, in its flanking movements, one of the most aggressive and powerful symphonies Haydn ever wrote. Both these outer movements are, moreover, very highly organized from the standpoint of thematic breakdown. The first subject (*ff*) at the beginning of the Symphony is separated into several interconnected segments: the rising broken chord (*a*), the *piano* contrast (*b*) and the long series of fanfares (*c*) on the characteristically Haydnesque rhythm

The theme uses itself, as it were, even while modulating to the dominant. Using a derivative of (*a*), the upper woodwind have what is known as a "rhythmic lead", to wit:

in which the quavers act not as the second half of the bar in question but as "lead-ins" to the following bar. Thus a sense of impetus, of forward-going, is established. This kind of technical device, here applied with sophistication and *élan*, is a hallmark for what the Germans term *motivische Arbeit*, or working with motifs. The attentive listener will, following the score, see how Haydn combines (*a*) with (*c*) and (*a'*), the (*c*) being restricted only to the kettledrums, to produce a dashing transition whose apparently effortless sweep is the result, which we must feel unconsciously even if we are not aware of the formal aspects, of rigorous intellectual self-control. This stunning transition ends with a series of violent discords (bars 51 *et seq.*), a sort of Neapolitan sixth (a flat-e flat-c) into which is introduced simultaneously the jarring note g at all levels of pitch, *i.e.* clashing at the interval of a second through three whole octaves. The second subject, very delicately scored (with one bassoon providing the only bass voice), is not only, with its "closing material", much fuller than is often the case in Haydn, but is a real contrast to all the vigour and nervousness of the opening material. The little figure (bars 78/80) with the syncopated minim, is brilliantly extended by contrapuntal devices in the development section (bars 150 *et seq.*), itself a model of concise and well-organized thought. At the end of the movement, there is a short coda based on the (*c*) figure of the opening subject which begins *f* and plunges at bar 255 into *ff*, bringing the movement to a swift and very loud conclusion.

We have provided this typical movement with perhaps more detailed analysis than usual because in its organization as well as its orchestration it is the kind of music that electrified audiences all over Europe in the sunset of the *ancien régime*.

Some of Haydn's double variation movements had already achieved the status of being world-wide hits by

Paris from Charllot. Drawn by W. M. Craig, engraved by Angus. © Radio Times Hulton Picture Library.

the time the *Paris* Symphonies began to circulate all over Europe in 1788. One such success had been the second movement of Symphony No. 53 in D (*L'impériale*); another had been *La Roxelane* movement from Symphony No. 63. Both have in common a not really slow tempo (in No. 63 it is actually *Allegretto, o più tosto Allegro*) and alternating major and minor (or minor and major) sections. The *Allegretto* movement of *L'ours* has these characteristics, too, and like its predecessors the main theme sounds like a folk-song: as pungent and unforgettable as the taste of a Greek olive. Although the movement is organized: *a* (major: subdivided into *a–b–a*): *b* (minor: *a–b–a'*): *a'* (major: again tripartite but varied): *b'* (minor: again tripartite but varied): *a''* (major: tripartite but once again varied): coda – Haydn is careful to see that the contrasting major and minor sections are linked by similar rhythms and similar *Urlinien*. A popular and successful movement, the orchestration of which is lightened by removing the timpani (and of course the trumpets).

The *Menuet* (Haydn's spelling) is French not only to the letter but to the spirit as well: sophisticated, with measured *staccato* crotchets in the bass line, and pompous quavers at critical points in the brass and kettledrums. The Trio is, like the previous movement, almost a folk-tune, which Haydn orchestrates with the utmost subtlety and *finesse*. We cannot re-iterate the point often enough: this is the world of Marie Antoinette and the Comtesse de la Tour du Pin, of Catherine the Great, of George the raffish Prince of Wales (later George IV of England) – not the sombre, doom-ridden, tragic world of Mozart's K.504 or 543 (particularly the slow movement) or, at its most obvious but also most pungent, K. 550. That world was certainly round the corner, but in 1788, when Haydn's *Paris* Symphonies were simultaneously printed in Vienna, London, Berlin, Amsterdam and Paris, Europe was still basking in sunlight: though it was much later in the day, and the sun much lower, than anyone knew.

In the Finale, we are back to the kind of formal *tour-de-force* that informed the opening movement. The orchestration is most original, with a drone bass (bagpipes, *Dudelsack*, la *cornamusa*: it is an international sound) and, at first, just the first violins, to which the middle voices join in harmonious support only during the last four bars. Whereupon the solo woodwind and timpani take the music in their hands, to relinquish it to the drone, this time in fifths with the violins settling into g''. With the whirlwind transition (which begins after a pause and is thus easily marked by non score-readers), we are off again in Haydn's world of contrapuntal grandeur, motifs being played off against motifs but the whole marked by a long line (or as the formalists like to call it, "arch") that is

Hanover Square Rooms. Drawing by Thomas Hosmer Shepherd, 1831. London, British Museum.

carefully guided by the master-craftsman. Like the first movement we have here a marked contrast in the second subject and closing material (bars 66 [with lead-in from 65] *et et seq.*); and like the first movement, we have an enormously organized development section, with vast extension of previous material, in this case the first few bars of the first subject. Haydn never leaves it for a moment: we are plunged (after the dominant, G) into F major, then into E flat major, G minor, C major, A minor and gradually into the dominant of C, in the course of which tonal journey Haydn builds up an enormous tension that is only resolved by the recapitulation. There is a coda, in which the timpani, always very active in this hard-textured Symphony, have a roll (in semiquavers) over nine bars, marked *ff*, and pushing home the last entry of the drone bass.

Symphony No. 83 in G minor (*La Poule*). Scoring: 1 flute, 2 oboes, 2 bassoons, 2 horns and strings. The subtitle *La Poule* (*The Hen*) is supposed to describe the "clucking" second subject of the first movement and is a nineteenth-century designation.

There was once a time in Haydn's life when G minor was a very serious, even tragic key; not quite with the special overtones that it had for Mozart, but very much out of the ordinary. In Haydn's *oeuvre*, it was the *Stabat Mater* of 1767, the *Salve Regina* of 1771 and, between them chronologically, the tense and angry Symphony No. 39 in G minor with four horns. Supremely, it was the string Quartet Opus 20, No. 3 (1772), where Haydn steered near to the desperate near-lunacy with which Mozart's music sometimes grimly flirts (the twelve-note cataclysm at the beginning of the Finale's development in K.550) But *anno* 1785, Haydn's style had undergone a vast transformation, from being a revolutionary thinker in a corner of Austria to becoming Europe's most popular composer. The beginning of this new G minor Symphony reminds us, briefly, of the old *Barrikadenmensch* (if I may anticipate the language of Socialism for a moment) of 1772 with its slashing minims (marked *fz*, heavily accented) and the unusual c sharp, as well as the urgent series of dotted figures. But Haydn has no intention of returning to the world of 1772, and smoothly pilots us to the relative major and the famous *La Poule* theme: the *appoggiature* in the violins scoff at the earnest G minor opening, and at the entry of the solo oboe (bar 52) tragedy, or if you will deadly seriousness, has been supplanted by doggerel. It was the kind of lightning change that the nineteenth century never forgave Haydn for. Even less comprehensible to them was the alternation of the "clucking" second subject with the first four notes of the main theme, as Haydn proceeds to do in the development section. The

end of the movement abandons the minor altogether and finishes in the tonic (G) major.

Perplexed as the Victorian mind might have been about the tongue-in-cheek first movement (for there can be no doubt that Haydn was being highly ironical), the deadly serious, beautifully sculptured *Andante* which follows probably left them totally confused. For one thing it is in E flat, a very ambivalent key in that it can be judged as the submediant of G minor, a typical eighteenth-century key for a slow movement of a G minor Symphony to be in (*e.g.* Mozart's K.550) except that the Haydn *La Poule* ended in G major; which gives a strong third-related feeling to the E flat not dispelled, either, because Haydn never returns to G minor as the principal key. There is a dramatic surprise after we reach the dominant: the second violins and viola get softer and softer (*sempre più piano*), to be violently interrupted by an *ff* outburst. The loveliest moment of all occurs in a huge pedal point on the dominant preparatory to the recapitulation (bars 63 *et seq.*), in which Haydn has several lines going at once over a long held B flat in the horns, the flute striking a shaft of sunlight into this very autumnal and almost Mozartian lead-back.

With the *Menuet* we are squarely in G major and a gay, bucolic dance with a strong *two-three* snap to the accompaniment in many crucial places. The Trio is a flute solo supported at the lower octave by first violin. The Finale (*Vivace*) has a whiff of the hunt about it, probably because it is in 12-8 time; it is altogether a very outdoors piece, the kind of music you might have expected to hear at someone's hunting picnic or garden party. Since a large part of Haydn's make-up was intellectual, we are treated to a stupendous modulation at the beginning of the development section: here, only the violins race ahead in quavers, all the other instruments push out *forzato* minims; later Haydn changed this passage, but after he had already sent the autograph off to Paris, so that the lower strings also have quavers. Conductors may take their choice: *Maestro* Dorati has chosen the Paris version.

Symphony No. 84 in E flat. Scoring: 1 flute, 2 oboes, 2 bassoons, 2 horns and strings.

Never one of the more popular *Paris* Symphonies, this elegant and superbly constructed work has much to recommend it to amateur and connoisseur alike (we use the eighteenth-century terms). Not the least of its many beauties is the stately and often ethereal *Largo* introduction (notice the magical entrance of the first violin into the wind band solo at bar 11). The succeeding *Allegro* in cut time is a masterpiece of witty and sophisticated thought, very monothematic (is there really any second subject at all?), very carefully paced, with a latent power kept in leash by the immaculate crotchet pulse which underlies almost the whole movement. In the development, there is a marvellous modulation to F major (bars 132 *et seq.*) where this curious feeling of leashed power is strongly felt.

The second movement, too, develops great strength as it progresses. The theme is deceptively simple, at least at first sight (hearing), but the off-beat *forzati* tell us that the rhythmic pattern is by no means conventional. Formally, the movement is organized like a straight set of variations,

Marie-Antoinette (1755–1793) by Vigée Lebrun (Versailles)
© Radio Times Hulton Picture Library

the principal section being in the usual tripartite subdivision of *a–b–a'*. Variation II (though Haydn does not mark it that way) is in the tonic minor, and here for the first time the wind instruments enter. Variation III is, like the theme itself, for strings only. Variation IV, a massive *tutti* with only two bars of *p* in the whole section, turns the rather delicate theme into a marching, surging affirmation; this is the proud music of a man who could write for kings and princes but was not ashamed of being a wheelwright's son, whose language (in his own words to Mozart) was "understood all over the world". This grand and noble *tutti* slows for a moment, and then, like a concerto, masses itself into a six-four chord with pause. The "cadenza" is an enchanting variation in canonic imitation, based on the main theme, for solo woodwind accompanied by pizzicato strings: of a saturated beauty, with rich inner lines and a fantastic sense of the capacities of every wind instrument: it could be from a text-book on orchestration. And its sense of yearning is magnified by the fact that it ends on another huge pedal point over F, leading to a final, simple statement of the first part of the main subject.

With the *Menuet* we are back to the poised world of the opening movement, where everything is ordered and worked out with the impeccable craftsmanship for which Haydn's music was so famous. The Finale (*Vivace*) has an agile main theme in the typical style of Haydn's maturity; it is the kind of movement altogether that was born popular, as it were. The racy transitions in repeated semiquavers, with their sense of thrusting energy, and the mysterious standstill at bars 56 *et seq.* (but not really does time stand still, because quavers soon break out in the bass to remind us that this is a *Vivace* in two-four time): all this is characteristic of the best in the *Paris* Symphonies. It is a very monothematic movement, which is not to say that Haydn does not develop "secondary" ideas; for that mysterious standstill becomes enormously magnified in the development section (bars 173 *et seq.*) and provides Haydn with an attractive lead-back to the recapitulation.

Symphony No. 85 in B flat (La Reine de France). Scoring: 1 flute, 2 oboes, 2 bassoons, 2 horns and strings. The title comes from the first edition by Imbault, as noted *supra*.

La Reine (the shortened title by which the work is usually called) has always been a popular work. When it was first played in Paris, its popularity was probably, at least among the nobility, assisted by Marie Antoinette's liking it especially; later, it was admired for being *the* Haydn Symphony of the late Esztherháza years *par excellence;* for its formal subtlety and, perhaps, for possessing special "grace and favour" which illuminate each of the four movements with a certain radiance.

The introduction is vaguely French, and not so vaguely as far as its dotted rhythm is concerned, for it smacks of the old French Overture, the rhythmic force of which lived on, *mutatis mutandis*, in many late eighteenth-century introductions such as this one. One of Haydn's characteristics is pithiness, and this whole introduction sets the stage in exactly eleven bars. The curtain opens on an extraordinary two part theme, the bass line of which moves down a ninth in very precise quavers over a long held *cantabile* upper line. This theme, or derivatives of it, dominate the entire movement. The first subject actually includes not only this theme but a middle section which begins with a semiquaver progression up to B flat, and then goes down the B flat chord in crotchets; this middle section is widely used in the course of the movement (bars 24 *et seq.*); the first subject then continues with a variation of the *a* section. Haydn scholars have noted that in the middle of the transition Haydn does something he very rarely does: he quotes himself. In this particular case (bars 62 *et seq.*) what is quoted is the beginning of Haydn's *Farewell* Symphony (1772), which is in F sharp minor; here we have the (not really exact) quotation in F minor. When we get round to the second subject, Haydn serves us up the *a* part of the first subject with the top line for solo oboe. Unless we are prepared to call the closing material of the exposition a "subject" (which it would be academic to do), there simply *is* no second subject to this movement. But that is why the first subject is not only tripartite but also much more long-winded than is usual in Haydn's language; it covered bars 12–41.

We have remarked that the themes of Haydn's non-slow slow movements often sound like a folk-tune. In No. 85 we find an *Allegretto* with the title "Romance" for a second movement, and it turns out that its main theme really *was* an old French folk-song entitled *La gentille et jeune Lisette*. Of course Haydn was paying a pretty compliment to his Parisian public; but apart from that

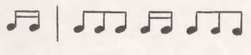
the theme sounds just like Haydn anyway. In this wildly sophisticated movement (which gets back to nature in the same fashion as the Petit Trianon . . .), we note the beautiful second subject (bars 45 *et seq.*) in E flat minor, with its gliding first violin line to open the gate, and a particularly felicitous lead-back to the next variation with solo flute. The final variation is still in pastel colours, like a Watteau background, and it ends *pianissimo*, with a tiny coda.

The *Menuetto* is springy and with some comical effects from the horns (bars 34, 36), but the Trio is an exquisitely proportioned movement. Beginning with a bassoon solo (which Haydn arranged for one of the musical clocks at Esztherháza, by the way), a *tutti* takes over in the second part which breaks up into a huge pedal point (F, horns), over which various wind instruments spin out a derivative of the bassoon theme: time stops dead, the rules are broken, and we are in a magic world.

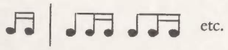
The Finale is a racy *Presto* built on a catchy theme which anyone could memorize in two or three hearings. It is also one of the most successful of Haydn's brilliant new fusions of sonata and rondo forms. The principal difference is is that Haydn's tendency towards monothematicism even in sonata form is now legalized by assuming rondo guise: this manifests itself *inter alia* in that the main theme comes back at the end of what would be, in sonata form, the exposition, but in the tonic, not the dominant: then the development section begins (which did not exist in a strictict rondo). A great *tour-de-force* to end one of the *ancien régime's* most persuasive and winning products.

Symphony No. 86 in D. Scoring: 1 flute, 2 oboes, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, 2 trumpets, timpani and strings.

No. 86 is perhaps the greatest of the *Paris* Symphonies: certainly the most majestic in its quick movements, the most profound in its slow. The *Adagio* introduction is more extended than usual and forms a compact world of its own. In bar three, there is an off-beat *forzato* which plays a rôle later in the movement (*cf.* 59, 60), and it will be found that many elements of this *Adagio* – rhythmic, dynammic, structural – turn up later in the Symphony. The introduction moves in a very suave way right into the ensuing *Allegro spiritoso:* the half-close of the *Adagio* slides up to a six-chord of the supertonic and, rather fantastistically, the quick movement starts on the off-tonic. The first subject, or if you will the first part of the first subject, is a little wisp of a theme four bars long. There then ensues a huge *tutti* which is dominated by the rhythmic fragment

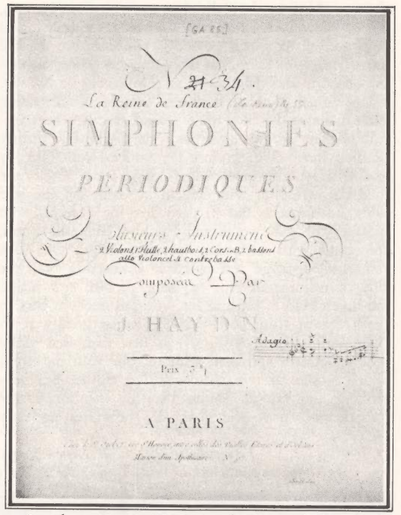


or its derivative



etc.

In the dominant, which Haydn goes to great pains to establish by hammering out the dominant



Symphony No. 85 "La Reine de France" by Haydn; title page, edition by Siebert, Paris.

The first page of violino I from Symphony No. 85, "La Reine de France": Imbault edition. By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

of the dominant, we are given the little first theme: that is why Haydn was so intent on establishing A major, because the first subject is now, *mutatis mutandis*, off-dominant. In view of the fragmented nature of the first subject, we are treated to an extended and fully developed second subject (upbeat to 65ff.) with a characteristic tail in slithering chromatics; and there is a vigorous concluding section (note the sudden added dynamic power added to stress the sudden new modulation from A major to C sharp minor in six-four position). In the development section, which is very long (bars 86–150), we see the immense possibilities of the little first subject: it is treated primarily as an ideal vehicle for extended modulations, particularly in the lead-back to the recapitulation. Because, however, this is a particularly well balanced movement, we also have a generous treatment of the second subject in this broad development section. The whole movement is a brilliant display of what Haydn can do with seemingly innocent, even undistinguished, thematic material.

The slow movement is marked, in the autograph manuscript, "Capriccio: Largo". *Capriccio* always meant, in Haydn, formal freedom and a kind of rondo treatment *à la* C. P. E. Bach – which is not the Haydnesque rondo with its A-B-A-C-A division but much more closely related to the Baroque *ritornello* form. The principal subject, that is, returns throughout the movement, constantly providing a tonal and spiritual base from which Haydn's spirit may rove. It returns (after being stated) in the tonic, G major, at bars 33ff. and, using itself as a modulation just before, at 54ff. and, with great effect, in the tonic minor at 71ff. As a foil to this main subject, which moves at a stately pace and in slow dynamics (a big "swell mark", that is *crescendo* and *decrescendo*, is placed under the two dotted minims of violin I), we have a partially double dotted and otherwise very intricate melodic line to set off the stateliness of the main subject. The difference between the two principal groups of themes lends a curiously veiled and ambivalent quality to this extraordinary and uncharacteristic movement. Who is to describe its brooding emotional state, interrupted several times by *tutti* sections of frightening intensity?

The *Menuet*, like the whole Symphony of generous proportions, shows us, if we examine it for a moment, what an intricate artistic form this dance movement has become: how symphonic, too, and how serious. It is possible to analyze this Minuet in two ways: in the old, conventional manner of A-B-A, or in a new fashion, whereby Haydn has superimposed on the basically tripartite form a kind of sonata form with exposition (A, ending at the double bar), development (bars 13ff., the "B", and notice how the principal theme is used contrapuntally), recapitulation (upbeat to 39– 54.) and even with a little coda, which we realize after Haydn leads us to a deceptive cadence and pause (54). But we have not said anything of the majesty and strength of this poised and beautiful music. The Trio is one of

Haydn's winning melodies, orchestrated in a distinctly waltz-ish way, once again beautifully orchestrated; with the trumpets and kettledrums silent.

The Finale (*Allegro con spirito*) is in sonata form, with two distinct subjects, though the second is clearly an offspring of the first, having the same five-note lead-in. Altogether, the movement is in the iron grip of that rhythmic lead, which turns up constantly, even in the timpani part all by itself (bar 125). It is also, considered *in toto*, a remarkable example of how Haydn's wit and humour are contained in an intellectual framework of great complexity and subtlety: so that all the gaiety and warmth have substance, as they always must in great art of any kind. There is, actually, something in it for everybody.

Symphony No. 87 in A. Scoring: 1 flute, 2 oboes, 2 bassoons, 2 horns and strings.

This stepchild of the *Paris* Symphonies seems to have been forgotten quite fortuitously – something that often happens to the *oeuvre* of prolific artists. There are always a few masterpieces by the great painters, writers and musicians that never lose their popularity; but among the vast output of a Titian or Haydn or Verdi or Dickens, there are works that come and go in the public's esteem. Who is to say why? To some extent, even Beethoven has suffered from posterity. Why should the *Geschöpfe des Prometheus* be hardly known while Symphony No. 1 is world-famous? Why should the Viennese, even today (1971), have a special, even violent, attraction to Verdi's *Nabucco*?

The strong opening subject of the first movement, with agile bass (and bassoon) quavers, has the same five-note rhythmic lead in as that of the Finale in Symphony No. 86:

The first subject stays *forte* until the beginning of the bridge passage to the dominant, and there we are introduced to a gliding bass line in minims over repeated semiquavers in the violins: this section plays an important rôle in the development section. The five-note figure, that is the same rhythm but with different intervals, greets us when we reach the dominant (bar 37), and it is also the rhythmic basis of the second subject (48ff.). This internal unity is further strengthened by the fact that all the sections mentioned above have an accompaniment in quavers. This central unifying organization is present throughout the rest of the movement.

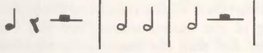
Attentive observers of this period in Haydn's creative life will have noticed two basic types of slow movement in the symphonies: the one the variation, or double variations, in a rather quick time (usually *Allegretto*), and in a quick metre (2/4 is a favourite, but also barred C or 6/8) and the other a real slow movement, almost always *Adagio*, and very often in 3/4 metre. To the first category belong the "slow" movements of Nos. 82 (2/4), 84 (*Andante* in 6/8), 85 (barred C), 89 (*Andante con moto* in 6/8), 90 and 91 (*Andante* in 2/4); while to the second belong the really slow movements of Nos. 83, 86, 87, 88 and 92, all of which are in 3/4 except for 92 (2/4) and all of which except 83 (*Andante*) are marked either *Adagio* or *Largo*. To this group, as noted, belongs the beautiful and rhapsodic slow movement of No. 87, whose broad, flowing lines and intricate orchestration place it among the finest of the period. Another characteristic of these adagios or largos is the hymn-like quality of their main themes, especially noticeable in Nos. 87 and 88. Haydn devotees will also have taken note of the increasing freedom with which the composer uses the wind instruments, and in particular the beautiful solo passages for solo woodwind (with or without horns, sometimes with soft string accompaniment). One such remarkable passage was noted in connection with the slow movement of No. 84; here, in No. 87's *Adagio* we find a kind of cadenza for flute and oboes at bars 37 (with upbeat from 36) – 42, elaborated greatly at 87 (with upbeat from 86) – 97, at first with first violin accompaniment and then without, but with the horns added as well as two bassoons. One further but very striking and typical feature may be mentioned: the "apotheosis" with which Haydn, now nearing sixty years of age, provides the codas of his real slow movements: a strong sense of autumnal beauty, of slanted rays of the sun, pervade these poignant and lyrical passages. Technically, this sense of a "dying fall" is produced by two principal factors: a pedal point, usually tonic, and the tendency to reach out to the sub-dominant, reached by flattening the seventh, together with the use of the *minor* subdominant (six-four chord with the sixth flatted). We find this at the end of No. 87, and, with even more sense of finality at the end of No. 92; later we will notice particularly beautiful examples in Symphonies 94, 97, 102 and, perhaps, most poignantly of all in the last of them all: No. 104, "The Twelfth I have composed in England".

The sturdy *Menuet* has a catchy little "whip" flick

that pushes the music forwards with a slightly Balkan twist. The Trio is a difficult oboe solo, rising in the second part to the unprecedented height of e′′′. The Finale (*Vivace*) is a monothematic movement, in which, as the music unfolds, we see that the main theme has been

Freemason's Lodge "Zur wahren Eintracht" in Vienna, which Haydn joined in 1785, the year in which he wrote symphonies 83 and 87. Oil painting, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

planneaed so that it can be used contrapuntally. If we may be permitted a final piece of analysis *à la* Berenson, we would also note the fact that Haydn, at this period, often ends his symphonies with three chords, separated from the rest, *i. i.e.* in No. 87



You also find this ending in Symphonies Nos. 80, 83, 84, 85, 88, 89, 92 and, in the Salomon Symphonies, to conclude Nos. 95 and 101. You never find it in a single maturere Mozart symphony.

Symphony No. 88 in G. Scoring: flute, 2 oboes, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, 2 trumpets, timpani and strings.

This is popular Symphony is a particularly successful blend of gaiety and towering intellectual strength: in that respect it is closely allied to No. 92, which may explain the particular success of both works. Before proceeeeding to the *corpus* of *Letter V* (No. 88), we would point out a striking innovation, or rather a double innovation: the Symphony begins with Haydn's usual "light" scoring, *i.e.* without trumpets and drums. It was in fact not usual to have trumpets and drums in a G major Symphony in those days, and for purely technical reasons: G trumpets (known as "English trumpets") were too high-pitched: their scale did not begin until g′′, whereas the alternative, of using C trumpets, meant that the trumpets were rather limited. Haydn's Symphony No. 54, which has trumpets and drums and is in G, was originally composed in 1774 without them; it is now (1971) thought he added them when using the Symphony in England. The timpani part of Mozart's brilliant G major Symphony K.318 seems also to have been a later addition. Thus, no one in Paris *anno* 1788 would have expected trumpets and kettledrums in a G major symphony, and they will have been very surprised to see them patiently sitting through the first movement. When the second movement, in D, commenced, they will have still wondered what those instruments were doing at the back of the stage, because in slow movements of symphonies, trumpets and drums were almost never used; Haydn and Mozart had never done so before 1783. Thus their astonishment at hearing the trumpets and drums enter after forty bars of the slow movement must, as we have been at some pains to explain, have been considerable. This is the first Haydn symphony with a slow movement to use them. Mozart's first (and last) was in the *Linz* Symphony K.425 (1783), but the Parisians had never heard a note of it, and would not for many years; though the Viennese knew it, and possibly Haydn, too. Many years later, in the Leipzig *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, we read of the tremendous effect that was created with the introduction of trumpets and timpani into slow movements by Haydn and Mozart – even in 1798, people still recalled it. This is the kind of thing that we would do well to remember, because our ears, flatted out by the eight horns, three trumpets and tubas of German Romantic music, and the two pairs of kettledrums in a Wagner *Walküre*, hardly hear the innovation any longer.

Haydn's Symphony No. 90 in C: First page of music from the autograph manuscript. Library of Congress, Washington.

If anyone wanted to know why Haydn wrote slow introductions to most of his late symphonies, he might try playing this first movement without the *Adagio*. The introduction is particularly necessary in movements where the quick section begins *piano*, and you will notice that this situation obtains in Symphonies Nos. 84, 85, 86, 88, 90, 91 and 92: *all* their quick sections begin softly. Conversely, the other Symphonies, Nos. 82, 83, 87 and 89 *all* begin *forte*. The opening theme, say, of the *Allegro* in No. 88 is too delicate, too "fragmented", to come in out of the cold. This first movement is undoubtedly an intellectual *tour-de-force* of the first magnitude. In notes of this kind, we cannot attempt to describe how the themes, and their accompaniments, are all closely interrelated. Interested readers may pursue the matter in our book on the *Symphonies of Joseph Haydn* (London 1955, pp. 412f.) and in the new and provocative book by Jan La Rue, *Guidelines for Style Analysis* (New York City 1970, pp. 161ff.). Like all Haydn's greatest formal complexities, you can listen to it with much enjoyment without such an analysis; but we would make the point that the Parisian audiences of 1788 were highly educated musically and without any doubt they understood and appreciated the intellectual side of this *Allegro*.

The great slow movement, of which Brahms is reported to have said, "I want my Ninth Symphony to sound like that", is a variation movement built upon one of Haydn's hymn-tunes and marked *Largo*. Among its many spectacular features is the brilliant orchestration: what the Germans call "durchbrochen", "broken through", which means the opposite of massive. This finely wrought score gives the theme's announcement to solo oboe supported an octave below by solo violoncello, and accompanied by solo bassoon, second horn, viola and the bass line. The effect is as original as the Prelude to *Tristan* if we attune our ears to *anno* 1788, which is admittedly difficult almost two hundred years afterwards. How Haydn gradually enriches the theme as the movement progresses is a wonder to behold. Of all the symphonies discussed in this booklet, this one most requires the listener to follow it with a score.

The *Menuetto*, in G, with C trumpets and kettledrums in low G and D, is a scene out of Bruegel: stamping peasants dancing round kegs of wine and tables groaning with harvest feast. If anyone wants to know the difference, in one word (or rather one minuet), between Haydn and

Joseph Haydn in 1791. Engraving by Francesco Bartolozzi after a lost miniature.

Mozart: compare this earthy, rich painting with the fantastic sophistication of the *Jupiter* Symphony's third movement, both written within a year of each other. In No. 88, there is, to celebrate the timpani's entering the closed world of G major, a neat little solo in two places (bars 11f., 41f.). In the Trio, the banquet is over, and much wine has been consumed: the bagpipes come, droning to the drowsy couples in the afternoon sun. It is another painting of vivid colours, and as earthy as the Minuet itself. Marie Antoinette will have loved it: she will have been reminded of the Petit Trianon. But everyone will have loved it, peasants included.

The Finale is one of the most intricately conceived, yet brilliant sounding, movements Haydn ever composed: a sonata rondo which is a perfect tribute to the Viennese predilection for combining intellect and beauty. Notice in the development section how – after returning rondo-like to the tonic key – Haydn suddenly launches into a *fortissimo* canon between upper and lower strings which continues, before our fascinated eyes and delighted ears, bar after bar: this is surely one of the great contrapuntal feats of the Viennese classical symphony.

Symphony No. 89 in F. Scoring: 1 flute, 2 oboes, 2 bassoons, 2 horns and strings.

Placed beside the glowing strength of No. 88, No. 89 seems at first glance a rather pale companion. In fact, the Symphony is reserved, cool and of immaculate formal design, rather like the perfectly fashioned German porcelain figurines of that period. It is often said that Haydn opened the doors to the eighteenth-century salon and let in the fresh air; no doubt this is on the whole true, and we just need to recall the barn-yard richness of No. 88's Minuet; but for No. 89 he momentarily closed the doors again.

The slow movement and Finale were borrowed from the Concerto No. 5 for the King of Naples, composed one year earlier than the Symphony (of which we have the dated autograph, 1787, in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge). The Concerto was composed for two *lire organizzate* (a kind of sophisticated hurdy-gurdy), two horns, two violins, and violoncello-basso. Haydn retained the form of the slow movement more or less unchanged (though of course re-orchestrated), but he enlarged the Finale with the highly symphonic section in F minor, whose rather ferocious off-beat *forzati* add strength and orchestral colour to an otherwise rather Rococo movement.

Perhaps the most original part of the work is the Menuet. It begins with a rustic wind band solo and the first part ends with a rather coy flute solo. At the beginning of the second section, the bass voice is first the horns and then the bassoons: it all sounds very droll. The end of the Minuet proper is a long tonic pedal point which suddenly bursts into *ff* in a very Beethovenian way, both as regards the "lay-out" of the parts as well as the repeated quavers: here is a *déjà-vue* "Huitième Symphonie".

Symphony No. 90 in C. Scoring: 1 flute, 2 oboes, 2 bassoons, 2 horns in C *alto* and F, 2 trumpets, kettledrums and strings.

Haydn may have dedicated these last three Symphonies to Monseigneur le Comte d'Ogny in Paris, and he may have shipped them off to Schloss Wallerstein in Bavaria, but he always had an eye on his own orchestra at Eszterháza. There were certainly two flutes not only in Paris but also at Wallerstein; at Eszterháza there was one flute only, and so for one Haydn wrote. There were no clarinets at Eszterháza either, so there are no clarinets in Symphonies Nos. 82–92: one wonders what Haydn did to Mozart's *Le nozze di Figaro*, with its prominent clarinet parts, when that opera was put into production at Eszterháza in 1790 just before the whole establishment collapsed. Another speciality at Eszterháza were the high horns in C (C *alto*), which took the place of trumpets in festive works with kettledrums: Haydn only had trumpets for special occasions and had to get them from outside, *e.g.* for the great festival of August 1775. Trumpets were a permanent part of the orchestra only in 1780. But Haydn must have known that C *alto* horns were (and are) extremely difficult to play and that they were probably unknown in Paris (or London). It is typical that the authentic Le Duc edition, based on the autograph, simply dropped the note "alto", and so did Longman & Broderip in their authentic edition of 1791. So we have a fine point here: when Haydn played the work at Eszterháza he used high horns and simply omitted the trumpet parts; in London we know he used the trumpet parts (because they are included in the authentic print), but what did he do with the horns? Did they really play in C *alto*? Life for an eighteenth-century musician was nothing but an endless series of compromises . . .

There is an interesting formal device in the first movement. Haydn must have pondered the problem of uniting the slow introduction more closely to the body of the movement. Here he does so by the simplest, most direct but also most effective (because easily audible) means: the music at bars 5/8 of the introduction becomes, speeded up from *Adagio* to *Allegro assai*, the main theme of the quick section. The movement as a whole has the brilliance for which Haydn's C major festive symphonies are known, but it lacks the trenchant power of No. 82's beginning. No. 90 is more ceremonious and has something of the cool reserve that we noted in No. 89.

The slow movement is much in the same restrained

emotional vein: even the big section in F minor is more of a formal device than a sense of self-identification with the sombre key as in Symphony No. 49 (1768). The coda (bars 120 *et seq.*), with its rich woodwind writing, is beautiful in its quiet dignity: one notes the *pp* which suddenly enters at bar 128 to underline the surprise modulation to D flat major.

There is once again, as there was in No. 82's *Menuet*, something very French about this Minuet: gone the stamping peasants of No. 88; here is a glittering ball at the Château de Versailles in the last season it would ever know: it is extraordinary how Haydn could imagine another civilization without ever having experienced it except at second-hand. For the King of Naples, in the series of Concertos (1786), he sometimes writes for the slow movements a Neapolitan aria which reeks of hot sun and garlic and the bluest sky in the world. With No. 90's Haydn has by some miracle entered the artificial, brilliant and rather heartless world of Louis XVI, constructing elaborate locks, and Marie Antoinette, watching her cows being milked at the model farm behind the Petit Trianon, while France was in the grips of starvation.

The Finale is one of Haydn's fast-moving, monothematic movements in sonata form. When the movement appears to come to a close at bar 167, there follow four bars of rest and the movement suddenly continues in the flatted supertonic (D flat), rather the way, nowadays, popular melodies are shoved up half-a-bar towards the middle. The ensuing coda is enormous (bars 168, counting the rests, through 241) and full of drollery; but it is much more the Haydn we know, though without the usual amount of warmth. Possibly for that reason, the jokes appear more ironical than witty.

Symphony No. 91 in E flat. Scoring: 1 flute, 2 oboes, 2 bassoons, 2 horns and strings.

E flat is a favourite key with most composers, and Haydn was no exception: he, too, appreciated its mellowness, the rich sonority that wind instruments assume when in that key, and the curious effect whereby the strings lose their edge. The very introduction of No. 91 shows how much the key influenced the composition, as it did at the same juncture in No. 84. This expansive and generous music went right out of Haydn's head by 1791: he could not remember it when asking Frau von Genzinger to send the work to London, so he quoted the beginning of the quick part. In a similar way, Mozart forgot the whole Haffner Symphony and was astonished at how good it was when his father sent it back to Vienna six months later.

The main theme of the first movement's *Allegro assai* is constructed in double counterpoint at the octave; so that the second part of the theme is the top and bottom lines reversed. Haydn keeps adding extra voices to this theme: when we reach the dominant, the first violin has a new voice (bars 57ff.) and soon the flute and oboe as well. There is a sequential second subject and a long closing episode to set off the contrapuntal austerity of the main theme. In the development, this subject gets still another extra voice (bars 128ff.), first in the oboe and then in the flute. We now have the main subject, itself in

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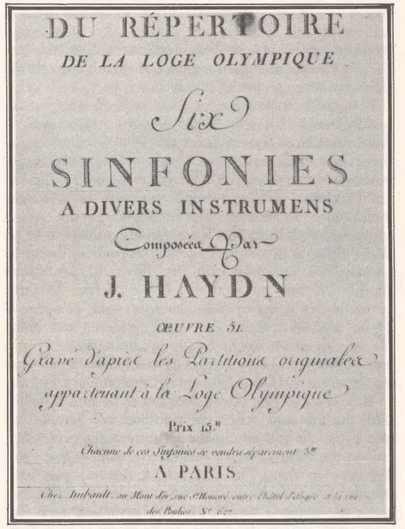
Title page of a set of three Haydn symphonies brought out by Madame Berault in Paris in the 1770s as Opus XIX. Actually all three symphonies are spurious: two are by Haydn's old friend and colleague Carl von Dittersdorf, and one cannot be identified. In the 1770s Haydn's works were widely sought after, and French publishers had no scruples in pirating spurious works by Haydn's Austrian and German contemporaries and selling them as genuine.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Title page of the Imbault first editions of Haydn's Symphonies Nos. 82–87. By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

double counterpoint, with a variety of countersubjects, and Haydn finally, at the end of the movement (Bars 253 *et seq.*), does the supreme contrapuntal feat of combining them all at once in a five-voice display: countersubject I in the flute, oboe I and violin I; countersubject II in the viola; top voice of the theme in oboe II and violin II; bottom voice in bassoons, cellos and basses.

The dancing quality of the *Andante* is immediately apparent. The movement appears to be a normal theme and variations, with the usual droll effects (the bassoon solo; the "minore" section, and so forth); but we are not prepared for the riotous series of trills just before the end, where the whole orchestra seems to have gone mad.

In the third movement (marked, oddly, *Un poco allegretto*), we notice the beautiful lead-back to the return of the "A" section in the *Menuet* proper: a long dominant pedal point, with beautiful bassoon colouring. The Trio has strong elements of the waltz; in the second section, there is a series of very original *fz decrescendi*, first in the horns, then in the oboes: Haydn will return to this little bizarrerie with a vengeance in the Trio of No. 92.

The Finale has a gay melody over a chattering second violin part, later transferred to the celli: except for a tiny little second subject, if one wishes to call it that, at bars 55ff., the whole movement is in the secure grasp of this main subject: Haydn detaches the first six notes and uses them as accompaniment (bars 77ff.), then he uses just the fifth and sixth notes (*e.g.* at 94 and 99) and spins out these two notes into a whole passage in the middle of the development (bars 107 *et seq.*), A winning conclusion to a bright, warm-hearted Symphony.

Symphony No. 92 in G (Oxford). Scoring: 1 flute, 2 oboes, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, 2 trumpets, timpani and strings.

On the occasion of the first performance of *The Creation* in Italy, which took place at Bergamo in 1809, the libretto contained notes on the composer and his works by a G. S. M., who was none other than the famous operatic composer Giovanni Simone (Johann Simon) Mayr, the conductor, since 1802, of Santa Maria Maggiore at Bergamo. Mayr, a careful student of Haydn, made the following observant note. Speaking of Haydn's first movements, Mayr notes, "Non hanno questi *Allegri* talvolta neppure un *tema*, e sembrano di cominciare in

mezzo; e nulladimeno trovasi in essi ad onta di tutta la leggerezza una fluidità, un ordine, che annunziano sempre la mano maestra." And it *is* very often the case that "these *Allegri* sometimes do not even have a theme and seem to begin in the middle."

The quick movement of No. 92/I "begins in the middle", and it is off-tonic, moreover. Once again, it would not have done to start the Symphony with this non-theme in the non-tonic. Thus the slow introduction, which is in its own right of an extraordinary profundity and loveliness, with a wandering middle voice for the violoncello. Its intense chromaticism as the music progresses underlines the late-summery stillness that, as the Symphony moves into the slow movement, becomes autumn. On 14th July 1789, two things happened: the Bastille fell and, by a curious stroke of fate, Mozart's revolutionary opera on Beaumarchais's text, *Le nozze di Figaro*, arrived at Eszterháza. As the ordered and serene life of the *ancien régime* began to disintegrate, Haydn was penning this very Symphony, a tribute to all that was gracious and beautiful in pre-Revolutionary Europe.

The off-tonic first theme does not settle into G major until the first *tutti*, when the trumpets and kettledrums also enter. As this extraordinary movement progresses, we see the truth of Mayr's statement, namely that "just the same in them [the fragmented themes] you find, despite all their lightness, a fluidity, a sense of order, that mark the master's hand". Haydn's invention with this very small subject (four bars, to be exact) is boundless. As is very often the case when Haydn's first subject is very small in size, we are given a fully developed second subject: this was true of No. 86/I and also obtains here, though it occurs just before the end of the exposition. The enormous contrapuntal possibilities of the first subject are revealed to us by Haydn *le grand prestidigitateur* during the development section: the first subject with the grace-note figure of the second, the first subject in cancrizans with itself, in inversion with itself, as a canon in several parts. It is in the greatest tradition.

This is the second slow movement (*Adagio*) in which Haydn introduces the trumpets and timpani. The theme is one of the hymn tunes that we have come to know in the past few years of Haydn's life; and there is once again, as there was in No. 88/II (and in our introduction), a separate cello line. Formally the movement is organized as follows: the big "A" section is worked out *a–a′* (in other words instead of a double bar, Haydn has written out the repeat, but also embellished it) *b–b′–a″* (still differently elaborated). During all of this the trumpets and timpani were silent. Now, as "B" bursts upon us, with G minor, they enter. The first of what will be many wind band solos greet us in the middle of this "B" section (bars 55ff.). "A" now returns, with its *a–b–a* pattern but without the repeats and still further varied. The coda brings us an enormous wind band solo, the longest Haydn ever wrote in a slow movement thus far, which contains a staggeringly modern-sounding series of parallel six-four chords (bar 104) and ends in long pedal-point "apotheosis" such as we have described in connection with No. 87's slow movement.

Joseph Haydn. An anonymous silhouette, probably from the end of the 1780s

The *Menuet* is on the same large symphonic scale as that in No. 86, and with a big middle, or "development" section. It is also a very serious movement, and not only because of its frequent excursions into the minor: the heart jumps, but not for joy. The Trio takes over the syncopated *forzato-decrescendo* trick that we noticed in No. 91's Trio: here it is still further extended. The whole Trio is very influenced by these syncopations. Again, we note that it, too, is a serious movement.

The Finale is, if it were possible, even more dazzling than that of No. 88. It begins with a bizarre effect, the theme in the first violins over nothing except bare octaves in the violoncello (later editors put in harmony here, but the autograph and other authentic sources are quite clear as to what the composer intended). There is also a big second subject. Never has Haydn showed such ingenuity as in the contrapuntal extension of his thematic material in the development. Nothing seems too much for him to attempt. Finally, after all this daring and highly chromatic experimentation, we land in C major and the second subject: suddenly the trumpets (which are C trumpets) enter with delightful effect: later Johann Strauss was to show the same sensitive awareness of the trumpet's colour in *piano* context. When the second subject returns in the recapitulation, Haydn gives a new accompaniment to the second horn, who must display not only agility in octave jumping but also show off his "stopped" note C sharp.

Haydn was quite right to pick this Symphony for the concert to celebrate his Oxford degree in July 1791, for it artlessly combines the greatest contrapuntal mind since J. S. Bach with a rich symphonic style.

Sinfonia Concertante in B flat major (1792) With this work, we jump ahead, for a moment, to the London period. Scoring: oboe obbligato, bassoon obbligato, violin obbligato, violoncello obbligato. Orchestra: 1 flute, 2 oboes, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, 2 trumpets, timpani and strings.

The *Sinfonia Concertante*, as it has come to be called, was entitled by Haydn on the autograph manuscript simply "Concertante". It was composed in 1792 for the Haydn-Salomon concerts in London, and there seems little doubt that Salomon persuaded Haydn to write it because of the great popularity of the *sinfonie concertanti* by Haydn's erstwhile pupil, Ignaz Pleyel, whom the rival "Professional Concert" had lured to London. Salomon's concert series began on Friday, 17 February 1792, and the Professionals the previous Monday (13 February), both in the fashionable and elegant Hanover Square Rooms. On 27 February, the third programme of the Professional Concert included a new *Concertante* by Pleyel, and the *Oracle*, the next day, noted: "The novelty of the evening was a *Concertante* by PLEYEL, for six Instruments. The subject extremely easy, airy, and well calculated for the *obligati* of the different Instruments which succeed each other – all varied with profound skill, and producing the most delightful effects . . . of . . . the Concertante it will be sufficiency of praise to say, that HAYDN might own with honour these works of his Pupil. It was the triumph of both – The Master was there, seemingly proud of his Work; the Scholar, himself only second, was very sensibly affected by the applause . . .".

On 9 March, at Salomon's fourth concert of the season, a "New Concerto M.S. for [Violin], Violoncello, Oboe and Bassoon" by Haydn was announced, to be performed by Messrs. Salomon, Menel, Harrington and Holmes. The work was an enormous success and had to be repeated at the next concert (where its title was correctly changed to "Concertante"). "The prevailing manner of this Master", wrote the *Oracle* on 10 March, "pervaded every movement – the third movement of which seemed expressly calculated to shew the brilliancy of Salomon's, and the sweetness of his tone." "A new concertante from HAYDN," wrote the *Morning Herald* on the 12th, "combined with all the excellencies of music; it was profound, airy, affecting, and original, and the performance was in unison with the merit of the composition. SALOMON particularly exerted himself on this occasion, in doing justice to the music of his friend HAYDN." The *Morning Chronicle* of the same date wrote that the "new *Concertante* . . . was performed for the first time with admirable effect." When Haydn gave his benefit concert on 3 May, the *Concertante* was repeated, and it figured in the next Haydn-Salomon concerts of 1794 as well – "delightfully animating" wrote the *Morning Chronicle* after a performance on 24 February 1794.

From its initial success, the *Concertante* gradually disappeared from the repertoire. It was printed by Breitkopf & Härtel in 1920, the first post-eighteenth-century edition of the whole work (arrangements for various combinations were published in the first decade of the nineteenth century), but it was very rarely performed. The first recording, made in the 1930s by Charles Münch for *L'Oiseau-Lyre*, achieved very little circulation. Suddenly, about 1960, the work caught on and is now one of Haydn's most popular pieces in the concerto form.

Orchestrated in the brilliant manner of the London period, Haydn's *Concertante* is of course a *pièce d'occasion* and is not in the same category as the great London Symphonies. It does not seek profundity and is entertainment music on the highest scale. It exploits well the different timbres of the four solo instruments; the bassoon, in particular, is given music admirably suited to that instrument of many emotions. The first movement is the most heavily symphonic, with an elaborate cadenza for the four solo instruments composed especially by Haydn. The slow movement is a placid *Andante* in which the trumpets and drums are dropped. The Finale features an old device known to students of early Haydn: an instrumental recitative in which (in this case) the violin pretends to be a dramatic soprano: please note that the *appoggiature* are written out (which they were usually not in vocal music, which has led some misguided but uneducated people to imagine that these *appoggiature* were not sung). Haydn thus went back to the *Cassatio a nove* (Hoboken II: 17, *c.* 1761) and the Symphony No. 7 *Le Midi* (1761), in which this device occurred. After the accompanied recitative has ended, the movement itself begins: with a typically lilting solo for Mr. Salomon. Before the end of this light-hearted and well-constructed Finale, the accompanied recitative enters once more.

The full scores of these symphonies are published by the Haydn-Mozart Press of the Universal Edition, edited by the writer of these notes. The miniature scores, with notes on the sources used, are published as volumes nine and ten of the Complete Edition of Haydn's Symphonies in the Philharmonia Edition; Philharmonia also publish them all as separate miniature scores (both the single copies and the volumes are distributed by Universal Edition).

H. C. Robbins Landon,
Buggiano Castello,
June 1971

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Haydn Symphonies (93-104)
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SIDE ONE
SYMPHONY No. 93 in D
1. 1st mvt. Adagio-Allegro assai (7:53)
2. 2nd mvt. Largo cantabile (5:24)
3. 3rd mvt. Menuetto e Trio-Allegro (4:44)
4. 4th mvt. Finale-Presto ma non troppo (5:38)

SIDE TWO
SYMPHONY No. 94 in G "Surprise"
1. 1st mvt. Adagio-Vivace assai (8:29)
2. 2nd mvt. Andante (5:51)
3. 3rd mvt. Menuet e Trio-Allegro molto (4:05)
4. 4th mvt. Finale-Allegro di molto (3:48)

SIDE THREE
SYMPHONY No. 95 in C minor
1. 1st mvt. Allegro moderato (7:06)
2. 2nd mvt. Andante cantabile (5:06)
3. 3rd mvt. Menuet e Trio (5:08)
4. 4th mvt. Finale-Vivace (4:58)

SIDE FOUR
SYMPHONY No. 96 in D "The Miracle"
1. 1st mvt. Adagio-Allegro (7:14)
2. 2nd mvt. Andante (5:53)
3. 3rd mvt. Menuetto e Trio-Allegretto (5:23)
4. 4th mvt. Finale-Vivace (3:40)

SIDE FIVE
SYMPHONY No. 97 in C
1. 1st mvt. Adagio-Vivace (7:52)
2. 2nd mvt. Adagio ma non troppo (6:50)
3. 3rd mvt. Menuetto e Trio-Allegretto (4:23)
4. 4th mvt. Finale-Presto assai (5:15)

SIDE SIX
SYMPHONY No. 98 in B flat
1. 1st mvt. Adagio-Allegro (7:40)
2. 2nd mvt. Adagio (5:29)
3. 3rd mvt. Menuet e Trio-Allegro (5:56)
4. 4th mvt. Finale-Presto (8:41)

SIDE SEVEN
SYMPHONY No. 99 in E flat
1. 1st mvt. Adagio-Vivace assai (8:29)
2. 2nd mvt. Adagio (7:10)
3. 3rd mvt. Menuet e Trio-Allegretto (6:07)
4. 4th mvt. Finale-Vivace (4:12)

SIDE EIGHT
SYMPHONY No. 100 in G "Military"
1. 1st mvt. Adagio-Allegro (7:28)
2. 2nd mvt. Allegretto (5:47)
3. 3rd mvt. Menuet e Trio-Moderato (5:15)
4. 4th mvt. Finale-Presto (4:56)

SIDE NINE
SYMPHONY No. 101 in D "The Clock"
1. 1st mvt. Adagio-Presto (8:14)
2. 2nd mvt. Andante (7:27)
3. 3rd mvt. Menuet e Trio-Allegretto (8:17)
4. 4th mvt. Finale-Vivace (5:06)

SIDE TEN
SYMPHONY No. 102 in B flat
1. 1st mvt. Largo-Vivace (8:38)
2. 2nd mvt. Adagio (5:22)
3. 3rd mvt. Menuet e Trio-Allegro (6:45)
4. 4th mvt. Finale-Presto (4:39)

SIDE ELEVEN
SYMPHONY No. 103 in E flat "Drum Roll"
1. 1st mvt. Adagio-Allegro con spirito (8:46)
2. 2nd mvt. Andante più tosto, allegretto (9:35)
3. 3rd mvt. Menuet e Trio (5:16)
4. 4th mvt. Finale-Allegro con spirito (5:24)

SIDE TWELVE
SYMPHONY No. 104 in D "London"
1. 1st mvt. Adagio-Allegro
2. 2nd mvt. Andante (8:08)
3. 3rd mvt. Menuet e Trio-Allegro
4. 4th mvt. Finale-Spiritoso (6:53)

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Antal Dorati

Antal Dorati

Antal Dorati was born in Budapest in 1906, and his parents, both musicians, recognised his talents and sent him at the age of fourteen to the Academy of Music in Budapest. His teachers Zoltan Kodály, Béla Bartók and Leo Weiner. He graduated at eighteen as composer, pianist and conductor, and was the youngest person in the history of the Academy to receive a degree.

Soon after, he was appointed conductor of the Royal Opera House in Budapest, where he worked for four years. In 1928 he went to Dresden as the assistant of Fritz Busch. Between 1928 and 1933 he was principal conductor of the Opera House in Munster, at the same time appearing as guest conductor at several other Opera Houses in Germany, and with orchestras in many major musical centres.

In 1934 he joined the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo, and seven years later was appointed Musical Director of the Ballet Theatre. Meanwhile in 1937 he made his American debut as a symphonic conductor at an all-Beethoven concert with the National Symphony Orchestra of Washington D.C., and during 1939-40 made an extensive tour of Australia. Returning to the States, Dorati became Director of the New Opera Company in New York.

In 1945 he left the Ballet Theatre and was charged with the organisation of the Dallas Symphony Orchestra, and in 1949 he became Musical Director of the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra, and during his eleven years with them, he was responsible for numerous commissions, world premieres, and American premieres of important works.

From 1963 to 1966 Antal Dorati was Chief Conductor to the BBC Symphony Orchestra, and took the orchestra on a tour of Switzerland in October 1964, and the United States in the Spring of 1965. He has also made a return to opera, and conducts guest performances at Covent Garden, London, the Weiner Staatsoper, the Opera House, Rome, the Hamburg Opera and Maggio Musicale in Florence. He is now principal conductor of the Stockholm Philharmonic Orchestra and with him the orchestra made its first tour of the United States in 1968 with such success that a return tour was arranged for 1970.

When the Philharmonia Hungarica was formed in Vienna in 1957, from refugee musicians who had fled Hungary during the 1956 revolution, Antal Dorati was one of the orchestra's first conductors. He made several recordings with them during this period, so that the London project of recording the complete Haydn symphonies with Dorati and the Philharmonia Hungarica represents the renewal of a long-standing association.

Philharmonia Hungarica

Among the hundreds of thousands of refugees who left their home country during the Hungarian Revolution in the late Autumn of 1956 were many musicians, who set out for the free world with their instruments as their only possessions. It was yet another instance of the tragic tradition of the Hungarian history of culture, which, over two decades ago, Béla Bartók summed up in these poignant words: ". . . One must get away from here, no matter where to . . .".

From among these exiled musicians, who, almost without exception, came from the leading Hungarian Symphony Orchestras – as for example the Hungarian National Philharmonia, the Budapest Radio Orchestra and State Opera Orchestra – the Philharmonia Hungarica was formed in Vienna, in the Spring of 1957, thanks to the spontaneous and generous assistance of several philanthropic organizations, mainly the Congress for the Freedom of Culture, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the International Rescue Committee and the Swiss Committee for Aid to the Freedom Fighters of Hungary.

Soon the artists resumed their serious artistic work, which, in a very short time, assured a leading place for this ensemble in the international music world.

The enthusiastic approval met with again and again by them during their many tours in Europe and North America, as well as during musical festivals, is a proof of the importance and vitality of this orchestra.

It is all to the credit of the cultural policy of the Federal German Republic, the regions of North Rhine-Westphalia and the city of Marl, to have recognized the unique value of the Philharmonia Hungarica, and, through generous financial assistance, to have assured the continued existence of an internationally appreciated orchestra.

Many of the members of the Orchestra are winners of valuable music prizes and have successfully taken part in international music competitions. The Ramor Quartet, consisting of instrumentalists from the string sections, gained first prize in the Geneva International Music Competition in 1957, and in 1962 the same prize was awarded to the Wind Quintet of the Philharmonia Hungarica.

Several of the members of the Philharmonia Hungarica were attracted to the career of soloist, others distinguished themselves through invitations to perform with renowned European and American Orchestras. And yet they all resolved, out of a sense of artistic integrity and patriotism, to remain loyal to the commitment of their own orchestra.

As an instance of the reputation enjoyed by the Orchestra with international audiences and press, let me quote the words which a Greek critic wrote on the occasion of a series of concerts at the 1962 Athens International Festival: "Our country – Music! That is the message of religious and patriotic faith one almost hears at a performance of the Philharmonia Hungarica. One also gets the impression that these men and women, who were forced to leave their country against their will, have brought with them, and preserved, not only the music, but – a particle of their home country!"

Notes on Symphonies 93-104 "London Symphonies" by H.C. Robbins Landon

Catalogue, arranged in the presumed chronological order.

Sinfonia No. 96 in D ("The Miracle"), London 1791.
I. *Adagio – Allegro.* II. *Andante.* III. *Menuetto & Trio (Allegretto).* IV. *Finale: Vivace (assai).*
2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, 2 trumpets, timpani, strings.
Principal sources:
(1) Autograph, dated London 1791, Royal Philharmonic Society (British Museum); (2) MS. parts by Johann Elssler, Princely Oettingen-Wallerstein Archives, Schloss Harburg (Bavaria), with corrections and additions in Haydn's hand, copied before March, 1793; (3) MS. parts by Johann Elssler, Princely Fürstenberg Archives, Schloss Donaueschingen; (4) MS. parts by Johann Elssler, Esterházy Archives, National Library, Budapest, with corrections and additions in Haydn's hand; (5) printed parts by Robert Birchall, London, based on Salomon's orchestral material; (6) printed parts by André, Offenbach (February 1795); (7) printed parts by Artaria, Vienna (April 1795). The supposedly autograph piano reduction of the first, third and last movements (Landon *The Symphonies,* 755 source 2) is not autograph; it is now owned by Dr. Fritz Moldenhauer of Spokane, Washington. There are also arrangements for piano trio of all twelve London Symphonies made by J.P. Salomon and published by him, as well as his arrangements of all twelve for flute, 2 violins, viola, cello and piano, of which the autographs are owned by Mr. Alfred Newman in Hollywood, California, and which Salomon published more or less simultaneously in his own edition in London and also at Simrock's in Bonn. Both arrangements are sometimes useful in establishing the texts.

Sinfonia No. 95 in C minor, London 1791. I. *Allegro moderato.* II. *Andante.* III. *Menuet & Trio.* IV. *Finale: Vivace.*
2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, 2 trumpets, timpani, strings (with solo violin and solo cello).
Principal sources:
(1) Autograph, dated London 1791, Royal Philharmonic Society (British Museum); (2) MS. parts by Johann Elssler, Esterházy Archives, National Library, Budapest (wanting the first bassoon part); (3) MS. parts by Johann Elssler, Princely Fürstenberg Archives, Schloss Donaueschingen; (4) printed parts by Robert Birchall, London, based on Salomon's orchestral material; (5) printed parts by André, Offenbach (February 1795); (6) printed parts by Artaria, Vienna (April 1795).

Sinfonia No. 93 in D, London 1791. I. *Adagio – Allegro assai.* II. *Largo cantabile.* III. *Menuetto & Trio.* IV. *Finale: Presto, ma non troppo.*
2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, 2 trumpets, timpani, strings.
Principal sources:
(0) Autograph, last seen by the Haydn scholar C.F. Pohl at the Court Book Shop of Eduard Leibrock in Braunschweig in c. 1870. The MS. was formerly owned by Artaria & Co., who certified its authenticity on 14 June 1834. It was entitled "In Nomine Domini . . . Londini 791". (1) MS. copy of the autograph by an Esterházy copyist, Esterházy Archives, National Library, Budapest (from Haydn's legacy); (2) MS. parts by Johann Elssler, Princely Oettingen-Wallerstein Archives, Schloss Harburg (Bavaria) with corrections and additions in Haydn's hand, copied before March, 1793; (3) MS. parts by Johann Elssler, Princely Fürstenberg Archives, Schloss Donaueschingen; (4) printed parts by Robert Birchall, London, based on Salomon's orchestral material; (5) printed parts by André, Offenbach (June 1796); (6) printed parts by Artaria, Vienna (July 1796).

Sinfonia No. 94 in G ("The Surprise"; "Mit dem Paukenschlag"), London 1791. I. *Adagio cantabile – Vivace assai.* II. *Andante.* III. *Menuetto & Trio: Allegro molto.* IV. *Finale: Allegro di molto.*
2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, 2 trumpets, timpani, strings.
Principal sources:
(1) Autograph, dated London 1791, Berlin State Library; (2a) last page of first and all the second movement, Library of Congress; (2b) MS. copy of the autograph by an Esterházy copyist, Esterházy Archives, National Library, Budapest (from Haydn's legacy); (3) MS. parts by Johann Elssler, Princely Fürstenberg Archives, Donaueschingen; (4) printed parts by Robert Birchall, London, based on Salomon's orchestral material; (5) printed parts by Artaria, Vienna (June 1795); (6) printed parts by André, Offenbach (August 1795).

Sinfonia No. 98 in B flat, London 1792 (?). I. *Adagio – Allegro.* II. *Adagio.* III. *Menuet & Trio: Allegro.* IV. *Finale: Presto.*
2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, 2 trumpets, timpani, strings (with solo violin) and solo harpsichord (only end of Finale).
Principal sources:
(1) Autograph, the signature and date torn off, Berlin State Library, from the library of Ludwig van Beethoven; 4 pages of the Finale, containing bars 75-128, are missing; the MS. was removed for safe-keeping during the last war and has disappeared; (2) MS. score by a British copyist whom Haydn used during the first London visit (he also copied the Esterházy Archives score of *L'anima del filosofo*); apparently a copy of the autograph; Royal Philharmonic Society (British Museum); (3) MS. parts by Johann Elssler, Princely Oettingen-Wallerstein Archives, Schloss Harburg (Bavaria) with corrections and additions in Haydn's hand, copied before March 1793; (4) MS. parts by Johann Elssler, Princely Fürstenberg Archives, Schloss Donaueschingen; (5) printed parts by André, Offenbach (February 1796); (6) printed parts by Artaria, Vienna (July 1796); (7) printed parts by Robert Birchall, London, based on Salomon's orchestral material.

Sinfonia No. 97 in C, London 1792. I. *Adagio – Vivace.* II. *Adagio, ma non troppo.* III. *Menuetto & Trio: Allegretto.* IV. *Finale: Spiritoso* (later altered to *Presto assai).*
2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, 2 trumpets, timpani, strings (solo violin in III/Trio).
Principal sources:
(1) Autograph, dated London 1792, Mrs. Eva Alberman ("heirs of Stefan Zweig"), London, from the auction by Gerd Rosen, Berkin, April 1951; (2) MS. parts by Johann Elssler, Esterházy Archives, National Library, Budapest; the MS. contains corrections in Haydn's hand, *inter alia* the change in IV's tempo; (3) MS. parts by Johann Elssler, Princely Oettingen-Wallerstein Archives, Schloss Harburg, with additions and corrections in Haydn's hand; copied before March, 1793; (4) MS. parts by Johann Elssler, Princely Fürstenberg Archives, Donaueschingen; (5) printed parts by André, Offenbach (April 1796); (6) printed parts by Artaria, Vienna (July 1796); (7) printed parts by Robert Birchall, London, based on Salomon's orchestral material.

Sinfonia No. 99 in E flat, 1793. I. *Adagio – Vivace assai.* II. *Adagio,* III. *Menuetto & Trio: Allegretto.* IV. *Finale: Vivace.*
2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, 2 trumpets, timpani, strings.
Principal sources:
(1) Autograph, Berlin State Library (now unavailable, see No. 98 [I]); the first page of music is signed 1793 and the whole is on Italian (not British) paper; the outside title page signed 1794, the year of the first performance; (1a) sketches to the Finale, Austrian National Library, Vienna; (1b) Haydn's autograph arrangement of the Finale for musical clock, Berlin State Library; (2) MS. copy of the autograph by Johann Elssler, the title page containing Haydn's autograph note "16 bo. [Bögen]", Esterházy Archives, National Library, Budapest, from Haydn's legacy; (3) MS. parts by Johann Elssler, partly on British paper and partly on Italian, representing in the case of the woodwind, brass and timpani parts Haydn's authentic British orchestral material, to which was later added a set of string parts in Vienna; (4) MS. parts by Johann Elssler with a note in another hand "ricevuta da lui medesimo/in segno d'amicizia", Esterházy Archives, National Library, Budapest; (5) printed parts by Simrock, Bonn (February 1801); (6) printed parts by André, Offenbach (1801); (7) printed parts by Robert Birchall, London, based on Salomon's orchestral material.

Sinfonia No. 100 in G ("Military"), London 1794 (the Minuet on Italian paper and probably composed in Vienna or Eisenstadt, 1793). I. *Adagio – Allegro.* II. *Allegretto.* III. *Menuet & Trio: Moderato.* IV. *Finale: Presto.*
2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, 2 trumpets, timpani, Turkish instruments (triangle, cymbals, bass drum, possibly also tambourine, strings (2 violas in II).
Principal sources:
(1) Autograph (minus II), Esterházy Archives, National Library, Budapest, from Haydn's legacy; (1a) Autograph of the second movement arranged for flute, 2 oboes, 2 bassoons, serpent, 2 horns and 2 trumpets with "tamburo", entitled "March", Captain Rudolph Nydahl, Stockholm; (2) MS. parts by Johann Elssler, Esterházy Archives, National Library, Budapest; (3) printed parts by Robert Birchall, London, based on Salomon's orchestral material; (4) printed parts by Gombart, Augsburg (February 1799); (5) printed parts by André, Offenbach (March 1799), with many of the printer's errors of the Gombart corrected; (6) printed parts by Artaria, Vienna (Spring 1799?); (7) printed parts by Sieber, Paris (April 1799).

Sinfonia No. 101 ("The Clock": in 1798 Traeg issued II as "Rondo . . . Die Uhr", which shows that the subtitle was known that early) in D, London 1794, but the autograph written on two types of paper – British and Italian – so that we may assume that part of the Symphony was composed in 1793 in Austria.
I. *Adagio – Presto, ma non troppo* (later: *Presto*). II. *Andante.* III. *Menuet & Trio: Allegretto.* IV. *Finale: Vivace.*
2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets (not listed in the *instrumentarium* of the autograph, but one solo passage still visible in I: 324 ff with indication in 323 "Clar", and the clarinet parts, with a correction by Haydn in Donaueschingen, *vide infra*), 2 bassoons, 2 horns, 2 trumpets, timpani, strings.
Principal sources:
(1) Autograph, dated London 1794, Berlin State Library (now unavailable: see No. 98 [1]); (1a) sketches to the Minuet, Austrian National Library; (1b) Haydn's autograph arrangement of the Minuet for musical clock, Berlin State Library; (2) MS. copy of the autograph by Johann Elssler, the title page containing Haydn's autograph note "20 1/2 Bögen", Esterházy Archives, National Library, Budapest, from Haydn's legacy; includes the clarinet parts, also in the *instrumentarium;* (3) MS. parts by Johann Elssler, Esterházy Archives, National Library, Budapest; from Haydn's legacy; the string parts on British paper and used for the first performance, and subsequent performances as well; the players' names noted: V.I "Mr. Salomon", V.II "P. Dahmen", Va. "Fiorilo & Slezak"; no clarinet parts and the passage in I: 324 ff. rewritten to avoid their solo passage; with duplicate string parts; (4) MS. parts by Johann Elssler and another copyist, Princely Fürstenberg Archives, Donaueschingen; with the clarinet parts corrected by Haydn, and with other holograph corrections and additions; (5) printed parts by Robert Birchall, London, based on Salomon's orchestral material; (6) printed parts by André, Offenbach, [Autumn?] 1799, based on a MS. copy still in the André Archives (M 12478); (7) printed parts by Gombart, Augsburg (Spring 1799); (8) printed parts by Artaria, Vienna (Autumn 1799?).

Sinfonia No. 102 in B flat, London 1794. I. *Largo – Vivace.* II. *Adagio.* III. *Menuet & Trio: Allegro.* IV. *Finale: Presto.*
2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, 2 trumpets, timpani, violoncello solo (in II), strings.
Principal sources:
(1) Autograph, Berlin State Library, dated London 1794 on the first page of music and 1795, the date of the first performance, on the title page; (2) MS. parts by Johann Elssler with corrections and additions in Haydn's hand, Princely Fürstenberg Archives, Schloss Donaueschingen; the wind and timpani parts on British paper and used in the London concerts, the strings on Italian paper and added subsequently; (3) printed parts by Simrock, Bonn (February 1801); (4) printed parts by André, Offenbach (1801); (5) printed parts by Robert Birchall, London, based on Salomon's orchestral material.

Sinfonia No. 103 in E flat ("Drum Roll"), London 1795. I. *Adagio – Allegro con spirito.* II. *Andante* (later: *Andante, più tosto Allegretto*). III. *Menuet & Trio.* IV. *Finale: Allegro con spirito.*
2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, 2 trumpets, timpani, strings (with solo violin in II).
Principal sources:
(1) Autograph, dated London 1795, given to Luigi Cherubini by Haydn in February 1806 and signed again: "Padre del celebre Cherubini/ai 24: tro Febr: 806", now British Museum, London. (2) MS. parts by Johann Elssler with corrections and additions in Haydn's hand, Princely Fürstenberg Archives, Schloss Donaueschingen; the wind and timpani parts on British paper and used in the London concerts, the strings on Italian paper and added subsequently; (3) MS. parts by Johann Elssler and others, lacking the Minuet, Esterházy Archives, National Library, Budapest; (4) printed parts by André, Offenbach, [Autumn?] 1799, based on a MS. copy still in the André Archives (M 12476); (5) printed parts by Gombart, Augsburg (Spring 1799); (6) printed parts by Artaria, Vienna (Autumn 1799?); (7) printed parts by Robert Birchall, London, based on Salomon's orchestral material.

Sinfonia No. 104 in D ("London"/"Salomon"), London 1795. I. *Adagio – Allegro.* II. *Andante.* III. *Menuet & Trio: Allegro.* IV. *Finale: Spiritoso.*
2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, 2 trumpets, timpani, strings.
Principal sources:
(1) Autograph, on cover Haydn's title "795/The 12th which I have composed in England", signed again inside on first page of music, London 1795; (2) MS. parts by Johann Elssler with corrections and additions in Haydn's hand, Princely Fürstenberg Archives, Schloss Donaueschingen; the wind and timpani parts on British paper and used in the London concerts, the strings on Italian paper and added subsequently; (3) printed parts by Simrock, Bonn (February 1801); (4) printed parts by André, Offenbach (1801); (5) printed parts by Robert Birchall, London, based on Salomon's orchestral material.

CHRONOLOGY:

There is an autograph sheet written by Haydn, listing the incipits of all twelve London Symphonies. It was sold at the "XXXVI. Autographen-Versteigerungs-Catalog Leo Liepmannsohn" as No. 91 (Berlin, 4 and 5 Nov. 1907), then formed part of the Westley Manning Collection in London, was sold at Sotheby's on 12 October 1954 (item 207), and is now owned by Messrs. J. A. Stargardt of Marburg/Lahn. The sheet is British paper with a dated watermark 1794 and includes as well the sketch to the slow movement of the "Gypsy Rondo"

Work	Date on Autograph	First performance	Other Date
96	London 1791	1791 season (or 11 March 1791? See Chronicle)	Entered in Herr v. Kees's Cat. as having come from London.
95	London 1791	1791 season	Ditto.

NB: We cannot determine the internal chronology of these 1791 Symphonies. In the Kees Catalogue they are listed as 96–95 (in Kees's Cat. Nos. 93 and 94 resp. "NB Von London gekommen").

93	London 1791	17 Feb. 1792	Haydn's Diary and supplementary note by Griesinger (who added "in D" to Haydn's "In the first concert only the Adagio of the new Symphony was repeated."
94	London 1791	23 March 1792	Local Press describes slow movt. Haydn withheld this work till after No. 98 and the *Concertante* had been performed.
98	London 1792(?)	2 March 1792	Haydn's Diary, giving key.
97	London 1792	3 or 4 May 1792	One assumes that Haydn saved the new work for his own benefit on 3 May and repeated it on 4 May.
99	[Austria 1793]	10 Feb. 1794	Criticism in *Morning Chronicle* 19 Feb. refers to the solo woodwind passage in II.
100	London 1794	31 March 1794	Criticism in *Morning Chronicle* 9 April.
101	London 1794	3 March 1794	Various criticisms.

NB: The internal chronology of Nos. 100 and 101 cannot be established: both autographs contain sections composed in Austria, and while No. 101 was played first, the fact that No. 100 contains as II a reworking of an older (1786) Concerto for 2 lire would suggest that strictly speaking at least part of the new Symphony was composed before No. 101, though the latter was probably completed before No. 100.

102	London 1794	2 Feb. 1795	See Chronicle.
103	London 1795	2 March 1795	*Morning Chronicle* specifically mentions Introduction in its review of 3 March.
104	London 1795	4 May 1795	See *Morning Chronicle's* review of 6 May.

Trio 39. The Symphonies are listed as follows:

795	in E mol [103]	in D [104]	in B fa [102]
794	[101]	in E mol [99]	in G [100]
792	[94]	[98]	[93]
[originally "791"]			
791	[95]	[96]	[97]

Obviously this catalogue was drawn up in the late Spring or early Summer of 1795, after the final Opera Concert. It only purports to show the years in which the various Symphonies were first performed, not the date of composition (e.g. No. 99 was composed in 1793, No. 93 in 1791, *etc.*); it is also not in chronological order within these years, because we know that No. 94 was certainly not the first work of the 1792 season; and it misplaces No. 97 in the 1791 season, whereas the dated autograph informs us that it was a 1792 work. Thus, the catalogue is not much use to us. Here, in tabular form is the chronological list with explanations: (see table above).

The information on the watermarks of those Symphonies of which the autographs, formerly in the Berlin State Library, are now in Eastern Europe and unavailable, was provided by two sources: (1) the notes which Professor J. P. Larsen made before World War II and which he kindly placed at our disposal; (2) the notes which the late Professor Helmut Schultz made before World War II, kindly made available to us by Messrs. Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig. Photographs of two Symphonies, Nos. 99 and 101, were fortunately made for the Hoboken Photogramm-Archiv of the National Library, Vienna, before the MSS. disappeared, while of the third missing work, No. 98, Messrs. Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig, made available to us an exact copy, with copious notes on the watermarks, changes, first drafts, *etc.* in the MS. made by Professor Schultz before World War II.

Textual Problems, and Their Consequences in Interpretation.

The first inkling that all was not right with Haydn's Salomon Symphonies could be realized from the appearance in the 1930s of some of these works in Edition Eulenburg, then Leipzig. No less than two new editions appeared of No. 103, the final one edited, as was most of the series, by the late Dr. Ernst Praetorius in February 1938; here for the first time in modern history, the clarinet parts of the Trio were restored. In Praetorius's edition of No. 96, which did not use the autograph or any authentic MS. sources, it became nevertheless clear that there were two completely different sets of trumpet and timpani parts. Astonishingly, these interesting Eulenburg editions, though widely distributed among music students and conductors, had no effect whatever either on the scholarly world – there is no mention of the problem in Larsen's pioneer book *Die Haydn-Überlieferung* (1939) – or in the practical sense. Conductors went on playing these famous late works in the same old Breitkopf & Härtel or Peters editions. This is the more surprising since Breitkopf & Härtel had engaged the late Dr. Helmut Schultz to carry on the symphonic series of the *Gesamtausgabe* (which had reached No. 49 by 1933) and also to prepare good "working editions" of some of the later works. Schultz published *inter*

alia new editions of Nos. 95 and 96 – not, alas, using the British Museum autographs – but having had access to the Esterházy parts. And to any conductor using these new scores, it must have appeared that there were grave textual differences between them and the old accepted versions. In particular, it must have seemed curious that in Schultz's edition the trumpets and timpani of No. 96 were (with a few exceptions) those "new" parts first mentioned and printed as *ossia* readings in the Eulenburg score. One would have thought that with two new scores of No. 96, conductors would have been puzzled and curious to pursue the matter. But the matter was greeted with total indifference. At this very period, His Master's Voice (The Gramophone Company) recorded Haydn's Symphony No. 96 for the first time with Bruno Walter and the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra – but in the old version that everybody knew. The war then put an abrupt stop to textual investigations of Haydn's symphonies, as pursued in splendid isolation by Doctors Praetorius and Schultz.

Having first studied these problems as best as the conditions allowed, which meant *via* such revised Eulenburg and Breitkopf scores – and they soon became exceedingly rare – as existed, the present writer later made an investigation of the whole textual problem of Haydn's first Salomon Symphonies, the results of which he published in 1954. Including a detailed list of corrections to the Eulenburg scores, he came to the conclusion that "the scores and parts of certain of the first six 'Salomon' Symphonies and *Sinfonia Concertante* in everyday use are flagrant falsifications of Haydn's own texts." In this article, attention was drawn *inter alia* to the newly discovered Ilssler parts, with Haydn's corrections, of Symphonies 93, 96, 97 and 98 in Harburg Castle, till then unknown to the musical world.

In 1954, however, there were many discoveries still to be made. The Esterházy materials were only partially available, and photographs of all of them did not arrive from Budapest until some years later. In 1958 and 1959, we were able to announce in the *Music Review* our discovery of a whole series of authentic parts of the Salomon Symphonies, corrected by Haydn and partly on British paper with the watermark date "1794", at Donaueschingen Castle. Still later, we persuaded the British Museum's Music Room to purchase a series of printed editions by Robert Birchall which proved to be based on Salomon's long-disappeared orchestral material. All this new information, and other important material by German colleagues on the significance and chronology of the earliest printed editions of the Salomon Symphonies, could be incorporated in the first critical edition, which was published between 1961 and 1967 by the Haydn-Mozart Presse of the Universal Edition.

The history of how these great works came to be falsified in the offices of Messrs. Simrock, Breitkopf & Härtel, Bote & Bock, Le Duc, *etc.* cannot concern us here; the changes are all spurious, done without Haydn's knowledge or approval, and most of the worst cases (Nos. 96 and 98) appeared after his death. (Haydn knew Le Duc's score of No. 98 and found the series unfortunate, but having omitted the trumpets and timpani of No. 98 entirely it did not sin in that respect except by omission.)

The restoration of the authentic texts brought with it certain questions of interpretation which are perhaps worth recalling.

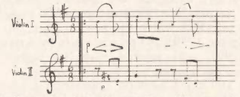
Since Nos. 96 and 98 were, to all intents and purposes, re-orchestrated by these publishing hacks in the nineteenth century, we might do well to examine some of the problems briefly. By the time these corrupt texts had entered the public domain in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, replacing the older and partly authentic editions such as Birchall, André, Artaria, Simrock's older parts (they were later revised and "brought up to date", *i.e.* in line with the new spurious texts), Gombart, Imbault, Sieber, *etc.*, symphonies were no longer played without a conductor. In the eighteenth century, the leader, that is, the *Konzertmeister* of the first violin section, had held the performance together; although Haydn conducted his Salomon Symphonies from the keyboard, this old *quasi-continuo* tradition was already obsolete and in most performances of the works in large centres like Paris, Berlin, St. Petersburg or Vienna, a piano was no longer used for Haydn's or Mozart's later symphonies. Thus there arose the need for full scores. Since everyone knew that the late eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century orchestral parts were full of printing errors and also did not even agree with each other – an orchestra could not have played a correct performance of Symphony No. 96 using the Birchall and Artaria parts simultaneously – not only was a score needed but also parts which agreed with the score. As Breitkopf & Härtel, for example, gradually came to print revised scores and parts of the late Haydn symphonies, taste had changed enormously and these works were no longer the main staple of orchestral repertoire that they had been from about 1795 (as far as they were printed) to 1815. People had forgotten what Symphony No. 96, or 98, had sounded like when Haydn had conducted it in London or Vienna. The recasting of these two particular symphonies concerned not only their trumpet and drum parts but also (in the case of No. 96) the bassoon parts. There were changes in the harmony, even in the very melodies themselves. In the Minuets of Nos. 94 and 96 a note was changed in the melody, and for the whole orchestra; in No. 96 the last note of bar 7 in the Minuet should be G but it was corrupted to F sharp, necessitating changing almost all the subsidiary parts as well; while in No. 96, the last note of bar 3 (and bar 31) read G sharp (fl., ob.I, v.I) and E sharp (ob. II, v.II) instead of the G and E natural that Haydn wrote.

Some of these changes had arisen because of the faulty printing of the older editions: when Artaria had, in No. 96/II, bar 72, a B natural in the bassoon and a B flat in the second violin, a later editor realized that one of the two readings was wrong and he mistakenly opted for the B natural, creating an augmented chord that Haydn never wrote. But the widespread rewriting of the trumpet and timpani, as well as the bassoon parts of Nos. 95 and 96, the flute parts of No. 96, and so on – all this was the result of quite another concept.

Mozart's late symphonies did not start circulating throughout Europe until the last five years of the eighteenth century, and they reached most of the great capitals together with Haydn's late symphonies, to be followed very quickly by Beethoven's first two symphonies (which were well known all over the Continent by 1805) and then by the *Eroica*. As Beethoven's symphonic *oeuvre* gradually dominated the musical world, the editors of the German publishing houses deliberately attempted to bring Haydn's orchestration of Nos. 96 and 98 into line with the more conventional sound of his illustrious friend Mozart and erstwhile pupil Beethoven. The high trumpets of Haydn were radically different from Mozart's much lower trumpet writing, and different again from Beethoven's, who wrote loudly for the trumpet but not in such a high *tessitura* as Haydn. Similarly the timpani parts that Haydn wrote were altered to sound tamer and less prominent. It was a process to make Haydn sound more like Mozart (in particular) and also more like the orchestration fashionable in 1815. Nos. 96 and 98 are not the only cases: an even more sensational recasting of the trumpets and timpani took place in Symphony No. 48, where some editor grafted on to Haydn's lean orchestral fabric a set of trumpet and drum parts in the late Mozartean manner. Naturally Haydn's orchestral personality was strong enough to survive these intrusions, but in the process that personality was, obviously, altered. It was the same kind of repainting that Giotto's frescoes in Santa Croce in Florence suffered at the hands of *ottocento* restorers: it was well meant, no doubt, but it did Giotto no good and created a totally false overall impression. It did similar harm to Haydn. Indeed, it is hard for most conductors nowadays to return to the robust orchestration, with piercingly high trumpets, and to the much sharper dynamic marks (many of the *ff* and *fz* were removed by the editors) of Haydn's own scores. The fact that Haydn's own orchestration is so much better than those of the hacks seems to make little difference. One would have thought that the original orchestration of No. 96's slow movement would have seemed, even at first glance and to a person only faintly musical, vastly more effective: here the editors *removed* the trumpet and timpani parts entirely (adding them, to make up for it, to the introduction of the first movement, where Haydn had left them silent). Yet it was not until 1960 that a recording of the original version was undertaken, and that as part of a subscription series that never reached the broad public at all (Max Goberman conducting the Vienna State Opera Orchestra for the Library of Recorded Masterpieces, New York). This warped view of Haydn's late style was drastically confirmed by another famous work, the *Nelson Mass* (1798), which existed only in a Bowdlerized version first issued by Breitkopf & Härtel in 1803 and mindlessly reprinted ever since 1963 (first *Urfassung* version published by Schott & Co. together with Edition Eulenburg): here too, the high trumpets were cruelly mutilated and the whole score reorchestrated in a manner calculated to remove the acid bite and lean sound of the original.

It was thus obvious that many famous conductors grew up with a view of Haydn as warped as the scores they persisted in using. The late Sir Thomas Beecham, who steadfastly refused to acknowledge that all was not right with Haydn's Salomon Symphonies, was one of those many misguided conductors whose aural view of Haydn – that is to say, the one they transmitted, often with lavish affection and great sophistication, to the general public – was at radical variance with what the original scores contained. His refusal to conduct from these original scores was by no means obstinacy; to have done so would have been totally to destroy the image of Haydn with which he was brought up, in the old "accepted" versions of Breitkopf, Peters *(etc., ad nauseam)*.

The effects of these *Urtext* scores have not yet been fully felt. The first movements of Haydn's symphonies are often taken at far too quick a pace nowadays; and the same objection was raised again and again by the London correspondent of the *Harmonicon* in the 1820s and early 1830s. But the bad texts were and are partly responsible for this faulty speeding. If we observe what Haydn wrote at the beginning of the *Vivace assai* in No. 94/I, a too quick tempo is out of the question:



The "hairpin" marks of the first violin will be unplayable if the movement is taken at the tempo used by Arturo Toscanini at the end of his life and in fact the hairpin was not on Toscanini's score and was thus ignored. The usual editions vary between nothing and the significant

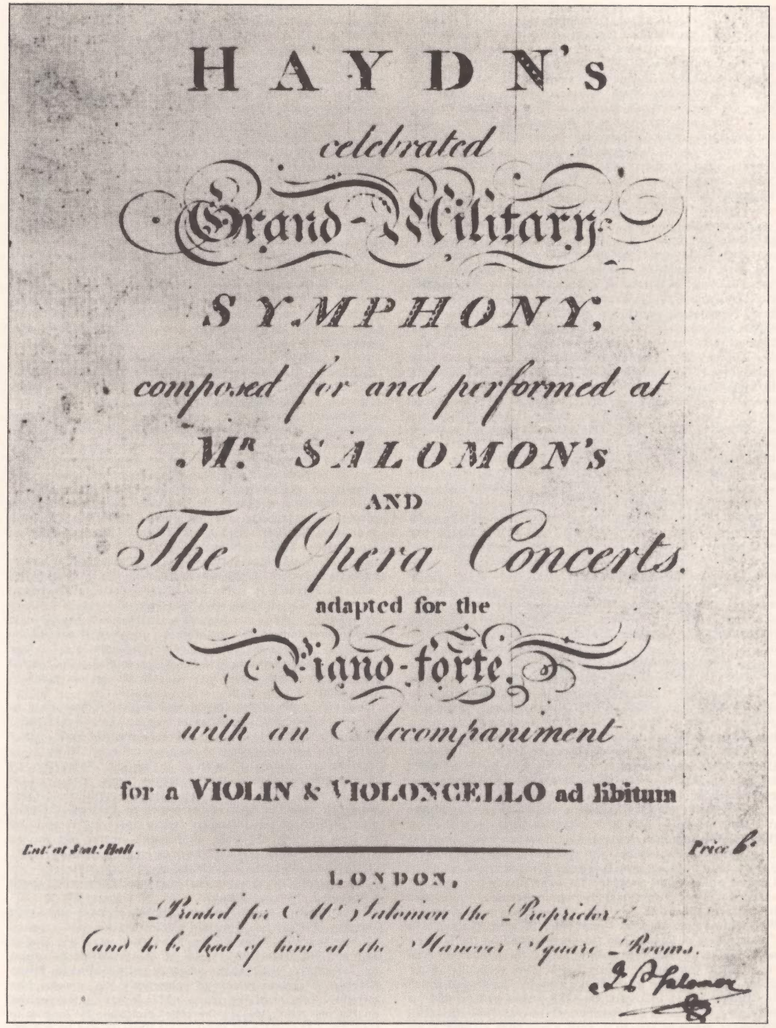
which of course would allow for a much quicker *tempo;* there are also other variations in the old editions, but they all conspire to falsify this deliberately time-restricting "hairpin". It is this kind of nineteenth-century tradition which has coloured most musicians', and the public's, idea of Haydn's style. The ramifications of these false texts have indeed gone far beyond their wrong notes, wrong dynamic marks, wrong phrasing and wrong orchestration – though the sum total of those is awesome enough; they have contributed to create a picture of Haydn with the crooked made straight and the rough places plain.

Their Position in Haydn's Oeuvre *and in Music History*

We have seen in the course of this recording project that the London period of Haydn's career was distinguished by a large number of masterpieces in all *genres,* ranging from opera to cantata *(scena),* from choral works to song, from piano trio to solo keyboard works, from flute trio to string quartet and from sinfonia concertante to symphony. Yet despite the high level of the other works, it is, when the final balance is made, the London Symphonies which have remained the favourites of the public and which seem to most people to contain the essence of Haydn's personality. In fact, it was almost exclusively these symphonies, of all Haydn's vast output, that remained alive in many countries. In German-speaking lands, the late oratorios were always deeply loved, and in Catholic Austria and Bavaria, the masses were played on Sunday after Sunday and often proved to be the only contact that the poorer classes of those parts of German-speaking Europe had with Haydn's music. In Anglo-Saxon countries, however, the public has always been deeply suspicious of Haydn's (and Mozart's) church music: we can trace the early disapproval even in the pages of the *Harmonicon* (published between 1823 and 1833), whose reviewers regarded Haydn, otherwise, with the greatest veneration. This same disapproval extended to the *Creation* and *Seasons* as well, to the extent that the oratorio *The Seasons* was never given in England at all in its entrety until many years after Haydn's death.

The situation was not the same during Haydn's lifetime, or at least not to the same degree. Although Haydn's religious music (until the arrival of the *Creation*) was almost totally unknown in England in the eighteenth century, much of Haydn's secular vocal music was known and appreciated there. Especialy the two sets of English Canzonettas were widely sung for many years. In the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Haydn's masses were enormously popular and created whole schools of local composers who imitated, often with great success, their illustrious models. It was the *Nelson Mass* rather than the London Symphonies that exerted the most profound influence on Bruckner's formative years, and the Upper Austrian composer's Mass in D minor would not have existed in its present form without the *Nelson Mass.* The chamber music of Haydn, too, was also widely played in the years before and after 1800. It is true that the string quartet, and even more the late piano trio, were never designed for the broad public but for connoisseurs; yet there were, obviously, many more such connoisseurs in 1800 than there were in 1900 or in 1970. Not only Haydn's string quartets were widely reprinted all over Europe in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but also those of his followers such as Gyrowetz and Pleyel, whose chamber music enjoyed a vast public on an international scale. Even the Haydn piano trios were reprinted and, obviously, sold all over Europe.

Haydn introduced his London Symphonies to Vienna as soon as he returned, the first time in 1792, the last and final time in 1795. But somehow, except for the "Beliebte Symphonie mit dem Paukenschlag" and one or two others, the London Symphonies never really caught the public's imagination in Vienna to the extent they had done so in England and were to do so elsewhere, particularly in France and Germany. Conversely, the *Creation* and (to a slightly lesser extent) *Seasons* were profoundly appreciated and highly successful in Vienna, becoming the basis of a whole new choral tradition there and in the provinces of the Empire. Vienna was in some respects very wedded to the voice in general and to German-speaking vocal productions in particular. The only successes at a really popular level which Mozart ever enjoyed in his lifetime in Vienna were *Entführung* and *Zauberflöte;* by "popular level" we mean in particular the lower classes of the musical population. The aristocracy may have (once) flocked to *Le nozze di Figaro* (though it afterwards much preferred *Una cosa rara* and *Il matrimonio segreto*) and to Mozart's subscription concerts in the Mehlgrube (though later Mozart could not raise more than one name, van Swieten's); but it was the German operas, and especially the *Magic Flute* in its off-*Hoftheater* production, that appealed to a whole new group of the Viennese populace who had probably remained in almost total ignorance of Mozart's other, and especially instrumental, productions. This situation was also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Symphony No. 94 in C, "Surprise" The title page of an arrangement by J.P.Salomon for piano trio. His autograph signature is seen in the bottom right-hand corner. From the collection of H.C.Robbins-Landon, Vienna.

reflected in Haydn's late, German-speaking choral music. It dominated a geographical segment of Europe where Bach was still unknown and Handel hardly played except through the efforts of a van Swieten. When the *Creation* had to match its force with that of the Bach Passions and B minor Mass, as well as Beethoven's *Missa Solemnis*, it was inevitable that some of the *Creation's* initially explosive popularity must abate. But while the progress of Haydn's late oratorios might in some countries be compared to a rocket which explodes into light only soon to disappear, the London Symphonies were tougher; and if their initial launching was often, as in Vienna, perhaps less dramatic than had been the case in England, they managed to survive better than almost any other group of Haydn's works.

It is true that the London Symphonies took a long time to penetrate the Italian peninsula. This was partly because all northern music was regarded in Italy with great scepticism, and partly because the Italians were now technically so far behind the rest of Europe that they could hardly play Haydn's late symphonies at all. They were soon to find the *Creation* full of technical difficulties and they could, shortly after Haydn's death, hardly manage *Don Giovanni* at all when it was attempted at the Scala. Haydn's symphonies arrived in Italy first through the Austrian governors of such cities as Milan and Florence (later Modena and Venice, too). We know that Rossini studied assiduously Haydn's symphonies, and one of the surprising contents of Verdi's library at Sant'Agata near Busseto is his well-thumbed collection of Haydn's symphonies in MS. parts. But all this happened after Haydn's death, so that it is almost true to say that the *Creation* was cultivated in Italy before the symphonies (which, Dies assures us, were as good as unknown at Rome in 1794 and not at all appreciated when heard). On the other hand, Spain had always had a long tradition of Haydn's music and had boasted a series of direct connections between members of the great Spanish noble houses and the composer himself, so that his symphonies were known and appreciated there long before they entered – if they ever entered more than very superficially – the culture of the Iberian peninsula.

Part of the effect of Haydn's symphonies lay in their vast number; that is to say, the effect was cumulative. Some composers strike with a single work, even a single symphony (César Franck); but in Haydn's time, a composer's reputation usually depended on a large number of compositions, especially if they were instrumental works. It is now well known that Haydn's symphonic production, once thought to be uniquely vast, is matched by that of his contemporaries such as Dittersdorf, Vanhal and Ordoñez; and even Mozart's symphonic *oeuvre*, considering that he died at thirty-five, is very extensive. But Dittersdorf and Vanhal had, by 1795, become old-fashioned composers, whose works were almost all forgotten (Dittersdorf's operas were an exception: they were still given in German-speaking countries), while Ordoñez and his contemporaries (Leopold Hofmann, Wagenseil, Gassmann, etc.) were in 1795 hardly names except to church musicians in the Austrian provinces and lexicographers such as Gerber or Burney. Haydn's symphonies, on the other hand, had not only survived but except for the very early works were played constantly all over Europe. Thus the arrival of these London productions, preceded by some ninety genuine (and an equal number of spurious) symphonies, seemed to musicians to represent the crowning efforts of Haydn's symphonic muse. We mention the spurious symphonies because, especially in France where publishers had for years foisted on the public a large number of such unauthentic pieces, the public and even the trained musician obviously found great difficulty in deciding which of these many works were by Haydn and which by his pupils and followers. In 1788 Sieber had printed (as Haydn) a symphony by Adalbert Gyrowetz (I:G 3) which Gyrowetz, when he arrived in Paris a year later, claimed as his own, though the Parisian musicians were at first highly sceptical. Great is our astonishment, however, to find a London pupil of Haydn's, the composer Thomas Haigh arranging this Symphony about 1795 or 1796 ("A Grand Symphony of Dr. Haydn's") for pianoforte and having it published about 1797 (on paper, however, with a watermark date 1795) by Culliford, Rolfe & Barrow in England, immediately to be reprinted in the Summer of 1797 by André of Offenbach ("Grande Sinfonie pour Piano Forté à deux mains arrangée by Haigh: Etrennes pour le Dames Livre 38"). If not even a talented pupil of Haydn's could tell the difference between Gyrowetz and Haydn, imagine the confusion among French and German musicians, who knew Haydn's music only at second hand, through local prints and MS. copies of uncertain parentage.

In this respect, therefore, the London Symphonies not only represented the *non plus ultra* of Haydn's symphonic style, but they were also indubitably genuine works. Publishers, perhaps only accidentally but perhaps knowingly (they having been among the principal sinners in marketing spurious Haydn) often described the London Symphonies as (to take a typical English early edition) "Celebrated Overture Composed for and Performed at Mr. Salomon's Concert" or (to take a typical André early edition) "Grand Sinfonie pour plusieurs instrumens, composée par Joseph Haydn, Docteur en Musique, Oeuvre 98me. Liv. I. (Cette Sinfonie a été éxécutée pour la première fois au Grand Concert, dit de Salomon, à Londres sous la direction de L'auteur) . . ." [= Symphony 104].

Some of Haydn's earlier symphonies had reached the intellectual, orchestral and virtuoso level of the London compositions, *e.g.* Nos. 82, 86, 88 and 92 of the works for Comte d'Ogny and the Parisian concerts; but on the whole, the scintillating brilliance of the Salomon Symphonies had, with the exceptions noted (and perhaps one or two others) remained unapproached in the composer's previous efforts. A part of the increased brilliance is no doubt the result of the stimulation by audience and orchestra in London, but as an intellectual *tour-de-force* the "Oxford" Symphony (1789) remained unsurpassed. In the minds, at least, of English audiences, the "Oxford" was automatically placed among the ranks of the Salomon Symphonies, since it was probably the first work Haydn introduced in the 1791 season of Salomon's concerts and since, in any case, it had been the work played to celebrate Haydn's receiving the doctoral degree at Oxford in July 1791. Once again, it is the very number of London Symphonies, twelve masterpieces, that secured for all time Haydn's reputation as a symphonic composer. If we add the "Oxford", which British audiences certainly did, to the number, we have thirteen works which immediately entered the repertoire and never really left it, except occasionally, since then.

In his earlier years, Haydn was naturally susceptible to various outside stylistic influences, and we know that he heard and studied a great deal of contemporary music in his formative years. It is indeed possible to trace a number of influences on Haydn's instrumental style up till the middle 1760s; later, he became profoundly affected by Italian comic opera, and his operatic works, including all the holograph additions to those works by other composers performed at Eszterháza Castle, naturally reflect this influence. Italian *opera buffa* soon cast its long shadow not only on Haydn's operas but on his instrumental works as well. The opening of Symphony No. 61 (1776) is unthinkable without the *opera buffa* style, and it is perhaps significant that the work's date coincides exactly with a profound change at Eszterháza, whereby from 1776 to 1790 Prince Nicolaus maintained a regular operatic season in Hungary. For a time, Haydn's whole thinking, and most of his best thoughts, went into opera productions of one kind or another. But from 1784, when he composed his last opera for Eszterháza, to 1791, the whole operatic routine for Prince Nicolaus began to sour the composer's life, making him bitterly intolerant of the operas by his Italian contemporaries on the one hand, and on the other increasing his longing to leave the not-so-splendid isolation of Hungary and to concentrate on writing music nearer his heart. Thus the break in 1790, occasioned by Prince Nicolaus's death, was a real release from his position which had, by accident and circumstances, become that of an operatic *Capellmeister*.

A great deal has been written about the influence of Haydn on Mozart and *vice versa*. If there had been any principal influence on Haydn from 1781 to 1791 (for before that he can hardly have known any significant works by Mozart), it must have been that of Mozart's music, which we know Haydn loved and admired more, perhaps, than that by any other composer. Yet if we examine Haydn's music, even his operas, from 1781 to 1790, impartially and knowing – this is an essential point – all his major works of the period, it would be a bold man who would assert that this was the period in the composer's life when his music was most profoundly influenced by that of his younger contemporary. If anything, Haydn's reaction to Mozart's music was partly negative: that is, the older composer ceased writing operas after 1784, except for *L'anima del filosofo*, a commissioned work, and an *opera seria* at that; he never wrote a string quintet; and he stopped writing piano concertos after about 1782 (the D major Concerto was published in 1784 but is probably somewhat earlier). We shall see Beethoven adopting a similarly negative, "withdrawing" attitude in the case of his erstwhile teacher – and to a certain extent *vice versa*. Haydn's style was, by 1781, firmly established and the works he composed in the ensuing decade all show a steady, unwavering line which comes almost exclusively from his own already huge *oeuvre*. In fact it is astonishing what Haydn did not take from Mozart. We know that the elder man heard *Le nozze di Figaro* (letter to Marianna von Genzinger of 9 February 1790) and intended to stage it at Eszterháza in 1790, getting as far as the initial performances; we know that he heard *Don Giovanni* because of his famous defence of the work quoted in Niemetschek's biography (the 1798 edition was dedicated to Haydn and a second edition appeared ten years later); we know that he was at the rehearsals of *Così fan tutte* in December 1789 and January 1790 (Mozart's letters to Puchberg, Nos. 1113 and 1115 in the Deutsch-Bauer edition; Anderson II, 934 *f.*); and we know that he participated in performances of all the major string quintets (Abbé Stadler to the Novellos, *A Mozart Pilgrimage*, London 1954, pp. 170 *ff.*) The MS. parts of the last three Mozart Symphonies, as well as the great C major *Missa* K. 337 and the "Coronation" Mass K. 317 in the Esterházy Archives (not to speak of much other church music, including a skilful arrangement of *Thamas* choruses as Motets) also show a certain knowledge of Mozart's music apart from the operas and quintets; and of course we know that he heard the string Quartets Mozart dedicated to him. We mention all this because it is difficult to assess exactly how much of Mozart's music was known to Haydn before he left for England. We cannot prove that he ever heard a Mozart piano concerto, though it is very likely, and we do know that Haydn much appreciated Mozart's piano playing. Apart from the piano concerto, we can see that Haydn knew a limited, but characteristic, selection of Mozart's music; and we have been deliberately over-cautious, for Mozart must have shown the older man much that was unpublished and had only been played once or twice. That the two exchanged such unpublished, or one might say "unavailable" music, is known from the evidence of Mozart's autograph copy of a passage from Haydn's *Armida* (1784); the autograph of the Mozart copy is in the University Library, Bonn. Yet there is, in Haydn's music of the 1780s, little tangible evidence of all this exposure, direct and indirect, to Mozart's style. Altogether, the two composers' influence on each other has been greatly over-analyzed: every five-bar phrase in Mozart must be attributed to Haydn and every chromatic passing-note in Haydn laid to Mozart. The influence of Haydn on Mozart is mostly formal. As Mozart often said, he learned how to write quartets from Haydn, and the famous letter of dedication in the Opus X "Haydn" Quartets sums up Mozart's debt. From that point on, however, Mozart's enlarged harmonic spectrum; his peculiarly individual method of orchestration (whether his martial C major density or his opaque writing in, for example, E flat or G minor); his philosophical attitude, if we may call it that, about operatic characterization; and the alarming undertones of much of his music – all these are things that hardly figure in Haydn's style at all, and certainly not in the 1780s. Haydn not only remains aloof from all these Mozartean trends, but he continues along the paths which he, perhaps the eighteenth-century's greatest innovator, had himself so carefully laid out. When Haydn became sixty in London (March 1792), Mozart was dead, and his international influence yet to come. Haydn, on the other hand, was distilling the essence of his own wiry style. We notice an increasing trend towards third-related keys, enharmonic key-relationships, daring tonal exploitation of the development section and an ever more complex motive relationship within a movement – in short, towards a purer intellectual approach. If anything, Haydn draws further away from the sensuous Mozartean sound. We should not be led astray by the outward brilliance of Haydn's late orchestration, for it conceals an increasingly austere approach to music. Haydn stopped writing symphonies in 1795 because he thought he had said all he could in the form: there is something forbiddingly final about "The twelfth I have composed in England" on the title page of No. 104. Yet he went on with string quartets, where his ideas could be presented with, as it were, the bare minimum in instrumental clothing. There is a cerebral purity, a dry quality, about some movements of the Opus 76 Quartets which would be ill-suited in a symphony. On the other hand, Haydn had new and large-scale ideas which, he considered, would be better fitted to oratorio and mass than to the symphony. It never seems to have occurred to him to expand the symphonic form beyond its then conventional length of about half-an-hour; he preferred to gather his laurels with more than one hundred symphonies and to proceed to different forms involving human voices. All this has very little indeed to do with Mozart. If anything, Mozartean influence is more to be felt – this is the strongest word one would wish to use – in the *post*-1795 works than before. Even then, it is nearly minimal.

Haydn's London Symphonies created a fourth "wave" of imitations. In his earlier works, we can trace three distinct schools of *seguaci*. The first grew up round Haydn's pithy and highly experimental works of the 1760s; he found admirers and imitators among the many composers living in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. *Kleinmeister* in the provincial monasteries and princely houses wrote symphonies *à la* Haydn which were, often as not, copied by Austrian scribes and sold abroad as Haydn, and printed as such in Paris; but also the better-known composers, such as Dittersdorf, Ordonez and Leopold Hofmann were not uninfluenced by Haydn; and his brother Michael certainly started symphonic life in Grosswardein (now Oradea Mare in Roumania) in 1760 copying the church-sonata productions of his brother's (such as Symphonies 5 or 11). Then, during the Romantic Crisis of the late 1760s, Haydn's new symphonies in the minor keys attracted wide attention: one of their most talented imitators was J. B. Vanhal, who occasionally succeeded in creating works almost the equal of the originals; the other was the young Mozart, who in the Symphony K. 183 produced an interesting copy of a Haydn *Sturm und Drang* symphony. When Haydn had perfected his first "popular" style in the early 1780s, he found that certain movements, particularly slow movements such as the *Andante* from Symphony No. 53 and "La Roxelane" from No. 63 of the same name, became international best-sellers. This deliberately *volkstümlich* style, with its bright and easily remembered melodies, but also its skilful motivic development and sparse but effective orchestration, created the most lasting of all the schools hitherto mentioned. Haydn's pupil Ignaz Pleyel became one of the most successful purveyors of this popular style, and so did Adalbert Gyrowetz, who (as he himself tells us in his autobiography) took Haydn for a model and almost succeeded in reaching the popularity of the original. Hoffmeister was another Viennese composer who took over many attributes of this 1780-style from Haydn; and even Mozart, particularly in his first Viennese works of the early 1780s, often modelled a Finale directly on Haydn's high-spirited music: the Finale of the piano Concerto in D, K. 451 is almost a Haydn copy, and the tune of the newly composed Finale (K. 382) to the early (K. 175) piano Concerto is also cast in the popular vein of Haydn's rondos.

The fourth series of Haydn's symphonic imitators must not be regarded as a mere continuation of the third. Naturally Gyrowetz, to choose one example, was influenced by the London Symphonies, and he witnessed the first two seasons there in London as one of the contributors to Salomon's concerts; but Gyrowetz began life by studying the Haydn symphonies of the late 1770s and early 1780s; and his works of the 1790s, though modified by what he heard in London in 1791 and 1792, were basically continuations of a style formed on Haydn's of a decade earlier. The same is true of Pleyel. In the last years of the eighteenth century, there arose a school of young composers who modelled their symphonies on the latest products of Haydn's style, and specifically on the London Symphonies. In Germany, where Haydn's latest symphonic works were much admired by public and *cognoscenti* alike, a whole series of pseudo-Salomon-Symphonies came into being. Most of these have long since been forgotten, but at least one suddenly acquired a new and unexpected lease of life.

When Haydn sent, at the end of 1792 or early in 1793, four of his London Symphonies to the Court of Prince Krafft Ernst von Oettingen-Wallerstein, one of the cellists in the Wallerstein band was a talented young composer named Friedrich Witt, who had been born in 1771 and engaged at Wallerstein on 21 January 1790. He studied composition with Rosetti, the Wallerstein *Capellmeister*. Witt fashioned his first symphonic efforts directly on Haydn's London Symphonies, and one of these early Witt works is a Symphony in C of which the principal model was Symphony No. 97 by Haydn, though there are also traces of Symphony No. 93 – both works that had been sent by their composer to Wallerstein Castle. Witt wrote other symphonies, all of which show strong leanings towards the London series, and eight such works were published by André beginning in 1804. As early as 1794 Witt was performing his own symphonies at Potsdam, so we may assume that he began writing them in 1793 at the latest. The Symphony in C major was acquired along with another work in D major by Göttweig Monastery in 1825. It was also acquired by a musical society in Jena, and thereby hangs the tale.

This society at Jena, the Akademisches Konzert, apparently purchased several Witt symphonies, but in the course of the years, the title page of the C major became separated from the parts and someone in the nineteenth century thought it was composed by Beethoven. On the (then anonymous) parts, someone added "Par Louis van Beethoven" to the second violin part and "Symphonie von Bethoven [sic]" on the cello. In 1909, the late Professor Fritz Stein "discovered" the work, which he entitled "Jena Symphonie" and published under Beethoven's name. It was not until 1957 that Witt's authorship could be definitely established.[1] Because of the attribution to Beethoven, a miniature score of the Witt Symphony is available and may be studied as an interesting and by no means untalented copy of the Salomon Symphony style. Apart from this Witt copy, there are many others by English, French and Austrian *Kleinmeister* which, like the Witt Symphony in C, reproduce not only the thematic material but even the modulations and the orchestration. These are reproductions. It is more profitable to turn to the *Grossmeister* and their assimilations. Of these the greatest are, as might be expected, Beethoven's first two Symphonies, first performed in 1800 and 1803, respectively. For Beethoven, though for many years he considered Mozart the greatest composer, did not adopt his style except in works deliberately modelled on Mozartean originals, *e.g.* the piano Quintet Op. 16 and the first three piano Concertos. Otherwise Beethoven's orchestral style is taken almost entirely from Haydn: this should be apparent to anyone who studies Haydn's and Beethoven's symphonies and then compares Schubert's Symphony No. 5 with its Mozartean models. (There were also many Mozartean followers among the *Kleinmeister*, such as Anton Eberl or the anonymous Frenchman who wrote the interesting Symphony attributed to Mozart as K. 311a.) Beethoven must have felt that Mozart's style, except perhaps in his piano writing, was inimitable and represented to a certain extent a *cul-de-sac*; imitating Mozart, one could only write pure (or as it might be adulterated) Mozart, whereas with Haydn – as he himself had shown – the symphonic style was capable of endless development, variation and metamorphosis. One of the curiosities of Haydn's fifty years of composing is the way in which his style constantly changes, adapting itself like a chameleon but with a resilient self-sufficiency. When the definitive study of the second half of the eighteenth century's musical life has been made, it will be realized how little Hadyn owes to any outside influence after the 1770s and how much almost every composer living from 1770 to 1810 owes to Haydn. His style was nourishing and capable of endless transformation.

In the first decade or two of the nineteenth century, Haydn's late symphonies were overplayed. They were almost, but not quite, played to death. The study of Haydn's gradual decline in popularity must occupy the final chapter of any serious and objective biography but cannot concern us here except marginally. The decrease in his popularity may be traced in part to other causes – to a fundamental change in taste and to the gradual misunderstanding of his musical language. Adagios that seemed immensely sad and full of wisdom to men in 1795 sounded attractive but slightly superficial, *nichtssagend*, to the Romantic generation of 1825. One of the reasons for this trend away from Haydn was the direct result of overplaying his London Symphonies. They may have been the most influential symphonic music written in the late eighteenth century, but by overexposure to them, the public's ear became slowly blunted to their beauties. In the music journals of Europe published after the Vienna Congress of 1815, one notices an increasing irritation with these Haydn symphonies. No one disputed their importance, but after a time their constant repetition seemed due more to the slothfulness and inertia of orchestral leaders and managers than to the prevailing taste of the audience. Yet the public was still fascinated by a great unknown Haydn composition. In 1838, Felix Mendelssohn gave a series of so-called "historic" concerts at the Leipzig Gewandhaus, and on 22 February he included several works by Haydn (not, one notes, London Symphonies . . .): the "Farewell" Symphony, parts of the *Creation* and piano Trio No. 43 in C, which Haydn had composed shortly after his final return to Austria. Felix writes to his sister Rebecka on 24 February 1838 *inter alia*: ". . . [The Finale of Symphony No. 45] is a curiously melancholy little piece. Beforehand we played the Haydn C major Trio, and people were quite bowled over [*des Todes verwunderten*] that something so beautiful could exist, and yet it was printed long ago by Breitkopf & Härtel [in the *Oeuvres Completes*] . . .".[2]

We are in a better position as regards Haydn's Salomon Symphonies. The "Surprise", "Clock", "Drum Roll" and "London" may be still overplayed, but not so the other works. A whole new generation of relatively unprejudiced listeners is there to rediscover their radiant freshness, and in the versions written by the composer rather than some well-meaning hack at a German publishing office. It is time to wipe the slate: to reconsider their intrinsic importance, to recapture their optimism and message of faith. For they are one of the great legacies of eighteenth-century Enlightenment.

[1] See our article "The 'Jena' Symphony" in: *Music Review* 1957, reprinted in our *Essays on the Viennese Classical Style*, London 1970. The relevant literature may be found in that article. The miniature score of the "Jena" Symphony is published by Breitkopf & Hartel.

[2] Susanna Grossmann-Vendrey: *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy und die Musik der Vergangenheit*, Regensburg 1969, p. 161.

Symphony No. 96 in D (1791)

A friend of Haydn's, Mrs. Papendies informs us on an interesting detail concerning Haydn's arrival in London. "Haydn . . . told Salomon that he should stay the summer in England, and that as he heard there were to be twelve concerts and two benefits during the season there would be ample time for him to compose his first symphonies after he had the opportunity of studying the taste of the English. He was determined that his first production should both amuse and please the musical public and rivet him in their favour. "We know that Haydn considered that Symphony No. 91 needed to be altered to bring it into line with the "English taste", but apart from adding trumpets and drums it is difficult to imagine what needed to be changed in the older (1788) work. And if we now proceed to what is probably Haydn's first English Symphony, it is equally difficult to see what makes this delicately orchestrated work different, let us say, from the "Oxford" with which he apparently introduced himself to the public at the Hanover Square Rooms. Perhaps in Mrs. Papendiek's quotation Haydn was simply making excuses in order to gain more time.

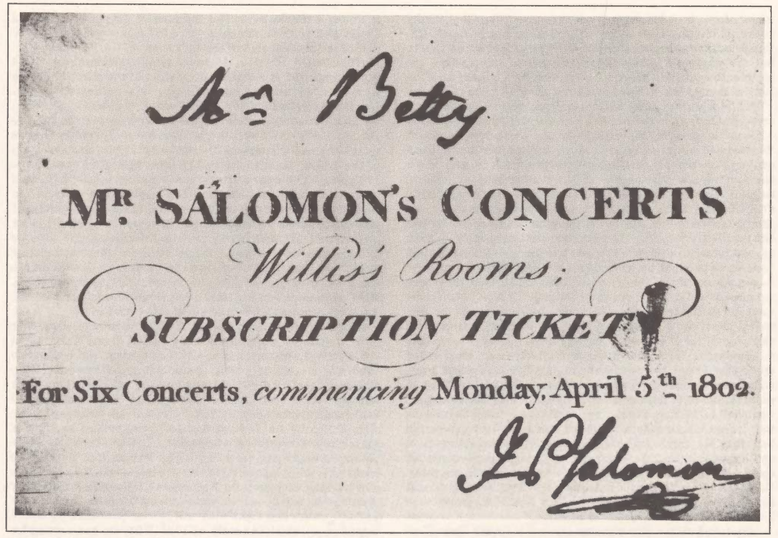
All the London Symphonies except for No. 95 open with a slow introduction, but this is not really a "new" device for England, since it was used in the previous Paris works with considerable frequency (Nos. 84, 85, 86, 88, 90 and 92). In No. 96 we may note that Haydn withholds the trumpets and drums until the first *tutti* of the *Allegro*, so that eighteenth-century listeners were not sure, until bar 25, whether the Symphony was one with trumpets and timpani or not. In bar 3 we note Haydn's very personal use of the turn (with three auxiliary notes), a Berenson "fingerprint". The turn has two distinguishing features: (1) it is accompanied by a phrase progressing a third upwards and (2) it occurs in slow tempo. This is not the only use that Haydn has for a turn, but it is one of his characteristic ones, and we shall encounter another particularly poignant example of it in bars 66-74 of the "Incarnatus" of the *Missa in tempore belli* (1796).

Mrs. Papendiek, in her report on the first Haydn-Salomon concert, specifically mentions Haydn's *obbligato* use of the instruments. One does not know to which symphony she refers, but in No. 96 the wind instruments are used with great freedom and the whole score is marked by orchestral transparency which is apparent even in the introduction. Here we modulate into D minor and the oboe, and only the oboe, has a long *crescendo* leading to a *f*; and again the solo oboe has a kind of cadenza leading to a pause and the *Allegro*.

It will be observed that Haydn now takes great care to bind the slow introduction to the rest of the movement. In most cases this is done thematically, and we shall see a particularly subtle example in No. 103. Here in No. 96 Haydn has employed an equally interesting method, for the prominence of the solo oboe part in the opening *Adagio* looks forward to its brilliant solo in the Trio. We may also note that the solo oboe's reversed pedal point (the *crescendo* referred to above) is matched by a real pedal point in the horns shortly afterwards (bars 12-15). The same procedure may be observed in the *Menuetto* (horns' pedal point, bars 5-8, oboe's reverse pedal point, bars (14-16), where the instruments' order is reversed but, interestingly, the note values or length of pedal point are almost exactly the same, and in three-four time, too.

The *Allegro* begins with its own accompaniment. Apropos of this curious procedure, we have a note by no less a man than Giovanni Simone Mayr, the once celebrated operatic composer whose treatise on Haydn, though most interesting, is hardly known at all.[3] Mayr writes "Non hanno questi *Allegri* tavolta neppure un *tema*, e sembrano di cominciare in mezzo; a nulladimeno trovasi in essi ad onta di tutta la leggerezza una fluidità, un ordine, che annunziano sempre la mano maestra."

[3] *La Creazione del Mondo . . . da eseguirsi nel nuovo Teatro della Società nell'occasione della fondazione del Pio Instituto Musicale. Con una prefazione e notizie storiche della vita e delle opera del Compositore Estese Da G. S. M. Bergamo, Dalla Tipografie Sonzogni 1809*, p. 11. A copy in the writer's possession; another in the library of the Biblioteca di S. Cecilia, Rome.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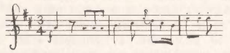
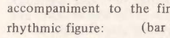
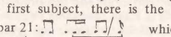
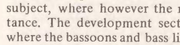
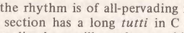
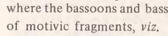
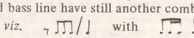
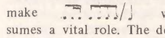
The *Allegro* of No. 96 certainly begins "in mezzo", and it is hard to believe what importance the "leading note"-figure of the first violin will have: (here repeated notes A[1]). Whole sections of the first movement are cemented together by this little motif. In the first *tutti*, which separates the double announcement of the main subject, the rhythm appears in the timpani (bars 27*f.*), but in the second *tutti* it becomes more prominent and is repeated in each bar by the cellos and basses. Gradually it begins to pervade everything, even the transition to the dominant (bars 50, 53-56) and the second subject itself:



The "fragmented" first subject is further dissected. The end of its first phrase (bar 4 of the subject) is three repeated notes we find the identical notes attached to the second subject (see the musical example). Finally, in the accompaniment to the first subject, there is the following rhythmic figure:  (bar 21:  which Haydn soon turns into The movement is an almost classic example of motivic economy based on a themeless first subject, where however the rhythm is of all-pervading importance. The development section has a long *tutti* in C major, where the bassoons and bass line have still another combination of motivic fragments, *viz.*  with  to make  which combined rhythm now assumes a vital role. The development seems to end with the large *tutti* beginning, as we say, in C major; it ends on a long sequence in the V of B minor and two whole bars of rests. (These rests have been the subject of much discussion, and Erich Leinsdorf recently announced publicly that he thought it necessary to remove one of the bars of rest!). There then follows an extremely comical *fausse reprise* in the subdominant. After the real recapitulation, there is a magnificent *tutti* which is far more intricate than the first one of the movement (which it purports to repeat): here we find a spectacular exchange of the  between horns and trumpets (which, we must recall, were situated way up at the apex of Haydn's pyramidal orchestra; the effect was not only aural but also visual), while the opening fragment of the main theme is played simultaneously. This splendid effect was one of those mutilated beyond recognition in the nineteenth-century adaptation. There is one final point, which occurs at the very end: a violent plunge, *fortissimo*, into D minor (the *ff* marking was a tradition of Haydn's London performances; it is contained only in the autograph and the Birchall print), with the whole orchestra participating. Even here, Haydn's preoccupation with fragments of the themes follows us, the timpani and bass line hammering out the  rhythm. Haydn directs not only the exposition to be repeated but also the second part, probably because the movement seems so short (though it is not: over 200 bars). This sense of brevity is brought about by the extreme concentration on short motivic fragments. It is curious to think that this Symphony and No. 95 must have arrived at Vienna just as Mozart lay dying.[4]) But the music of this exhilarating and bright D major Symphony is worlds away from the *Spatstil* of the *Zauberflote* and the *Requiem*. Nothing could be more dissimilar.

Giovanni Simone Mayr says of Haydn's slow movements: "Gli *Adagj [sic]* e gli *Andanti* hanno le forme più varie. Per lo più sono vasti, e mostrano una fisonomia di stile grande.

[4] Haydn sent them by mail on 17 November; they will have arrived in Vienna on 1 or 2 December. Haydn's trip to London in 1794 took from 19 January to 4 February 1794.

Richiedono però un'esecuzione brillante e vivace, non essendo della spezie sentimentale ed affettuosa, anzi respirando piuttosto uno spirito nazionale di gajezza e di umoristico, il quale non può restare lungo tempo d'un carattere serio e languente" *(op. cit., p. 11)*. Here we have the prototype of the late symphonic slow movement, "non essendo della spezie sentimentale ed affettuoso" but orchestrated enchantingly and with the same luminously "open" feeling that we noted about the first movement. Again we observe the *obbligato* use of the wind instruments, which accompany the repetition of the main subject (bars 5 *ff.*) Like the first *Allegro*, this *Andante* starts off as if it would have dropped the trumpets and timpani (which the later arranger actually did!); one is delightfully surprised to find them joining in the first *tutti*. After what is basically an a-b-a announcement of the first section, each entry of the main theme being decked out with new garlands from the wind section, we break off the main theme and enter a long passage in the minor. Based on a fragment of the main theme, this minor excursion is treated like a *fugato* and gathers great momentum as it proceeds. The introduction of a minor "middle" section (sometimes not exactly in the middle) is a feature that will occur in the slow movements of Nos. 93, 94, 95 97, 98, 100, 101 and 104 and thus may be considered typical of the London Symphonies. The repetition of the opening section is not fully written out in the autograph, and Haydn as he often does, uses the words "etc: come Sopra" to indicate to the copyist to repeat the exact notes of the opening (this "come Sopra" occurs at bar 51). Up to the end of this repetition the movement has proceeded as normally as Haydn's fertile invention ever allows anything to proceed "normally". We have had an A-B-A form of which, as we have seen, the A was subdivided into a-b-a. But what now occurs is unexpected and elevates the movement to being one of the most original and inspired of the Salomon series. A short variation on the final *a* section leads to an elaborate cadence and a six-four chord, just as if we were in a concerto rather than a symphony. At this point, one might call the rest of the movement a gigantic coda, or if one will, cadenza (bars 69 [with upbeat] – 89). The concerto-like atmosphere is astoundingly made more real by the introduction of two solo violin parts, just like the *concerto grosso* of a century earlier. In addition, the whole woodwind section is used like the *concertino* which thus consists, if one wishes to spell out matters, of two solo violins, solo flute, two solo oboes and bassoons; while the *ripieno* consists of strings and two horns. The cadenza even ends with a gigantic series of trills, entering one after the other in oboe I, flute I and bassoon I. The end of this movement also includes a highly Romantic modulation from G major to E flat through the augmented sixth pivot, a passage which, as we mentioned earlier, was stupidly "edited" in the nineteenth century so that the augmented chord was changed to a I^6 chord by flattening the B flat in violin II and bassoon II.

This extraordinary *cadenza-cum-coda* is a brilliantly original stroke of genius. We believe that here we may also have the first concrete example of Haydn's attempting to cultivate the "English taste". In his own previous *oeuvre*, especially in the works of the 1760s, we find several examples of this *concerto-grosso*-technique – and not only in the famous trilogy of 1761, *Le Matin, Le Midi* and *Le Soir*, but also in the organization of such a movement as the *Adagio* in Symphony No. 36 in E flat (*c.* 1761-5?), where there are two solo parts *(concertino)*, violin and violoncello, accompanied by a *ripieno* of strings. But such escapades had long since disappeared from Haydn's symphonies. Having arrived in London, Haydn will have taken note that here was a flourishing tradition of "Antient Concerts", where the *concerti grossi* of Corelli, Geminiani and, especially, Handel still held the affections of the conservative-minded and tradition-conscious British public. Is this *concerto grosso* episode in Symphony No. 96 not Haydn's charmingly expressed tribute to this great tradition, still kept alive in many London concerts! One is tempted to think so.

Haydn may have thought that he was writing "English" symphonies, and perhaps in the last part of the slow movement he had done so. In this irresistible and captivating *Menuetto*, however, he wrote a movement of which the roots, the rhythm and the expression are all purely Austrian. It was the great tradition of the Redoutensaal, which must have been as good as unknown in England except through such minuets of Haydn and his pupils as were known there. It is a symphonic minuet in the grand style, but with that indefinable Austrian "thing", the secret of which has persistently eluded non-Austrian composers for some two centuries. And if this so basically kinetic music is purely Austrian, what are we to say to the pure *Ländler* – what Haydn would have called "Contrydance" – of the Trio, for solo oboe and accompanied in strict "waltz rhythm" by the strings? It was a graceful and lovely tribute to the country of Haydn's birth.

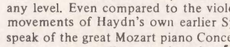
Haydn thought to ask Marianna von Genzinger to press upon Herr von Kees the fact that he "have a rehearsal [!] of both these symphonies [Nos. 96 and 95], because they are very delicate, particularly the last movement [of that] in D, for which I recommend the softest *piano* and a very quick tempo . . ." (letter of 17 November 1791). Haydn originally marked the *Finale* "Vivace" but later added "assai" to the tempo to ensure "a very quick tempo". Basically this whirlwind movement is one of the composer's characteristic rondo movements, but the various subsections are "developed" as in sonata form. The main group, or first A, is subdivided with repeat marks, *i.e.* see this same kind of division in the opening material of No. 97's *Finale*. The B section is a long section in the minor, the same kind of diversion that we have already seen in the slow movement and will see in subsequent final movements such as that to No. 101 ("The Clock"). The whole movement, in No. 96, is strictly monothematic and there is not even a hint of a second subject. C section introduces, once the A section of the theme has been announced, a kind of development where the theme is used contrapuntally with itself. There then occurs a kind of recapitulation of the main a-b-a section but without repeats, which leads to a pause and a new kind of *cadenza*, this time for the whole wind band. It is a presage of the long and intricate wind band soli which we shall encounter in an extended and famous passage in the first movement of No. 97 in C, and once again in the slow movement of No. 99 in E flat – a section that so inspired the players that the critic of the *Morning Chronicle* was moved to comment upon it. Like the opening movement, the *Finale* of No. 96 is marked by what appears to be a great overall brevity, but it is, as far as the actual count goes (239 bars), a long movement and Haydn has once again used extreme economy of thematic material to produce a sensation of concision.

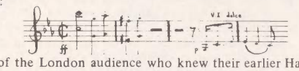
It was a highly auspicious beginning of a new career in a strange country.

Symphony No. 95 in C Minor (1791)

There are several ways in which to judge the popularity of the individual Salomon Symphonies, at least in London. One is the reaction in the daily newspapers, and we have seen in the *Chronicle* that some of the works were far more popular than the others, especially the "Surprise" and "Military". Symphony No. 104, and indeed the other works first played in the 1795 season, did not have time to become really popular by the time Haydn left England – No. 104 can only have been played a few times towards the end of the 1795 season. Another measure of the various works' popularity may be gleaned from a rather unexpected source: namely, Salomon's first editions for piano trio. These were first printed as a joint endeavour between Salomon and the publishers Corri & Dussek, and Salomon's address was his office at the Hanover Square Rooms. Naturally, some of the works far outsold the others, particularly the "Surprise" and "Military", the first two works to receive nicknames in England. Salomon later changed his address to 34, Clipstone Street. Thus it happened that when people had sets of all twelve works bound up, they often had individual works with different publishing addresses; the plates also started to wear thin, and one can see graphically how they wore out for the most popular works. In examining the bound volumes, one usually notices that No. 95 still remained in its first edition (which was, moreover, signed by Salomon). So did No. 96, which suggests that it cannot have been the popular work so often repeated after its first performance in March 1791; for the "Oxford" Symphony was not one of those arranged by Salomon for piano trio but had been issued, for popular "drawing-room" consumption, in an arrangement by Dussek for piano and violin in November 1791. No. 96's slow sales as shown by the evidence of the bound volumes is another hint, albeit negative, that the "Oxford" was the work which Haydn played in the opening Salomon concert of the 1791 season.

At any rate, No. 95 was one of the slowest sellers of the twelve in Salomon's piano trio edition, and this fact tells us that it cannot have been a very popular piece, at least compared to most of the other symphonies! It has never become a favourite, either, and many attempts to resuscitate it have been connected with the fact that being in C minor, it later basked in the reflected glory of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, with which work, however, it could ill stand comparison on any level. Even compared to the violent emotion in the outer movements of Haydn's own earlier Symphony No. 52, not to speak of the great Mozart piano Concerto K. 491, No. 95 does not measure up. The very fact that it was the only work in a minor key among thirteen London productions (*i.e.* counting the *Concertante*) tells us a great deal about its initial lack of success. No doubt London audiences would have found the violence of a Mozart K. 550 way out of the ordinary, not to mention the D minor piano Concerto K. 466; but No. 95, which begins as if it were to be a huge and dramatic piece in C minor and then (except for the Minuet) turns out to be much tamer than expected, was also not the way to English hearts; it was, in short, an experiment that Haydn took great care never to repeat. Perhaps its lack of success is because it was something of an unsuccessful compromise.

The first movement is a slow *alla breve (Allegro moderato)*, the warning is because of the triplets and also such figures as  which would sound hurried if the barred C is taken too quickly. There is no slow introduction, also the only time this ever happens in a London symphony (though it occurs again in the *Concertante* which, being a concerto, is another kind of work entirely). The beginning is so impressive that no curtain-raising *adagio* was needed:



Those of the London audience who knew their earlier Haydn, and in particular the previous C minor Symphony No. 78, will have realized that these first five notes were designed for large-scale contrapuntal elaboration; and they were not disappointed. The motivic development of the first subject is the most striking thing about this movement. Even when modulating to the relative major, the first theme is used with itself contrapuntally, and of course it is still more expanded in the development. There is, in No. 95, a highly polished second subject, which introduces the triplets and then succumbs to them entirely: we are reminded of the same device in the "Rider" Quartet's first movement. In the development these two widely contrasting themes are placed side by side, but the result seems to be primarily to increase the rather jerky and unsettled feeling engendered by the bars of rest in the main theme and now part and parcel of the whole fabric. The retransition to the recapitulation provides a nice touch in that the first five notes of the main subject, having been used so frequently in the course of the movement, are now omitted. The music then modulates to C major and stays in that key till the end of the movement. The telescoping that we noticed with the main theme in the recapitulation is continued; the big bridge passage is dropped, and the first subject's *piano* part slides elegantly into the second subject and the tonic major at the same time. The second time round, Haydn provides a magical wash of colour by having a solo violin play one of the

counter-subjects (bars 139 *ff.*). There is a short coda in a splendid outburst of C major, to which the whole brass section and timpani contribute a slash of brilliance to a martial outburst in which only they are marked *ff* (bar 148), the others (except the triplets of the first violin) having *fz* (a strong accent). And yet there is something unsatisfactory about this movement as an aesthetic whole. Perhaps we are conditioned to expect greater things from a "Grand Symphony in C minor", and possibly we overreact to the tame qualities of the second subject and the rather windmill-tilting triplets which occupy so much of the movement (63 bars out of 165). One ends by being slightly confused as to the music's basic message.

There is no such confusion about the even tamer E flat *Andante cantabile* variations – Haydn called it "a little Andante from one of my new Symphonies" (CCLN 117) – which constitute the slow movement. The trumpets and drums are dropped, and the atmosphere is much more like an *andante* of ten years earlier. It is charming and beautifully constructed but nothing to compare either with the *Adagio* of the "Oxford" or the *Andante* of its chronological fellow No. 96. One interesting feature is the use of the solo violoncello in the second variation, lying wonderfully in the upper register (as do all Haydn's solo cello parts in that range) and once again – like the oboe in No. 96 – a presage of the famous solo in the Trio to come.

The gaunt and powerful *Menuet* lays claim to being the finest of all four movements. It has a real sense of unity which the Symphony as a whole may be thought to lack, and it seems to exploit the ferocious side of C minor in a way which makes us long for what Haydn could have done with such a Symphony if he had felt himself able to.

The Trio is a technically demanding cello solo, fulfilling the promise of the *Andante's* second variation; it is famous among cellists and they play it with delight. Perhaps it is not unkind to say that as a whole the Trio is more interesting to the player than to the audience. As a concept, this kind of solo is, like the *concerto grosso* in No. 96, a throw-back to a much earlier technique: to such concerto movements as Haydn's Symphonies No. 13/II (for solo cello) or No. 24/II (for solo flute). Such a solo is perhaps something of an anomaly in a work of this kind, which is *in toto* more massively symphonic than No. 96; perhaps that is why the oboe solo in No. 96's Trio succeeds, having been preceded and to be followed by pieces of music filled with *obbligato* woodwind writing.

The *Finale* of No. 96 is a *Vivace* in barred C, and like the Trio, we are now firmly in C major and remain in that key, except for the usual modulations, till the end of the work. Formally, this is Haydn's last orchestral attempt at a "fugued" movement in the manner of Mozart's "Jupiter". The fugal sections take the place of the normal bridge passage to the dominant, and instead of a second subject and development, the fugue continues until the recapitulation and also figures, though briefly, in the recapitulation. The material for all this contrapuntal virtuosity is the first five notes of the main subject, and Haydn makes an exhilarating and highly effective movement out of it. By this time we have forgotten that this is a C minor Symphony, of course, but the vivacious conclusion is perhaps better suited to Haydn's English mood than the kind of minor-major rondo that concluded the earlier C minor Symphony No. 78. Can this C major burst of triumph have been one of Beethoven's models for the conclusion of the Fifth Symphony?

Naturally, we hear the Finale of No. 95 with different ears than did Haydn's audience in 1791, and we do not mean, in our case, only the knowledge of Beethoven's Op. 67; we know, as the London public did not, that the inspiration for No. 95's Finale is the conclusion of Mozart's "Jupiter" Symphony. With its majestic tones ringing in our ears, it is difficult to hear Haydn's Finale with unprejudiced ears.

If Symphony No. 95 is generally considered the least successful of the London Symphonies, the fault is no doubt partly Haydn's for having produced a half-tame, half-grand C minor composition, but also ours, for being unable to hear it without the "heavy footsteps" of K. 491, K. 551 behind and Beethoven's Op. 67 in front – grossly unfair in the case of Beethoven, of course, but hardly to be changed any more.[5]

Symphony No. 93 in D (1791)

Haydn had now had half a year to observe conditions in London, and this new Symphony, with which he opened the 1792 season, may be considered the first result of his experience in the previous 1791 concerts. The introduction *(Adagio)* opens with a flamboyant *fortissimo* unison for the whole orchestra which is so devastatingly effective that one wonders that there is no precedent for it in any of Haydn's (or Mozart's) previous symphonies. The effect comes from holding the minims, by means of a *fermata*, to much more than their usual values. The effect on Salomon's audience must have been electrifying. As if to match this theatrical beginning, Haydn then gives us a striking modulation, whereby the note A functions as the pivot from V of I to a six-chord in E flat: the sense of mystery and withheld power is increased because the E flat section contains no chords in the root position.

The *Allegro assai* opens with one of Haydn's melodies that was born popular; for many people in obscure American villages, this tune became their introduction to Haydn by way of its arrangement as a Protestant hymn – a rather unlikely fate for such a cheerful tune. The accents Haydn noted are extremely subtle: during all the dynamic marks of the first violin in the example just quoted, the second violin (and presumably the unmarked cello & bass) is *pp*. This *Allegro assai* is one of Haydn's most regular, in that there is a real second subject which also appears in its proper place in the recapitulation. What is most irregular is the development section. After three bars of modulation, Haydn is in E minor and introduces what appears to be a new subject; this five-note phrase then proceeds to dominate matters during the entire development section except for a brief reference to the second subject just before the final retransition to the recapitulation. It can be demonstrated with some conviction that this "new subject" – the kind of thing Mozart did in his Symphony in B flat K. 319 with the "Credo" theme, which is new to its development section – is in fact pasted together from two fragments, one from the first and one from the second subject. But it might with some justification be said that the average listener could hardly make this kind of analysis aurally, though there is a curious and very strong feeling that this five-note figure is well known to us. It is, however, one of the few times that Haydn's developmental figures are not immediately recognizable, not on paper but to the ears of the average educated listener. Throughout this movement one has the constant feeling of self-confidence, and this in turn generates a sense of power that is displayed in an almost un-Haydnish way in the massive cadence during the coda, where the whole orchestra crashes down in chords on the first beat. There is indeed a considerable difference between this worldly and powerful movement and the music of the 1791 season. At the opening night, as Haydn's diary informs us, the slow movement was repeated; at the second concert, the *Madrigal* "The Storm" was repeated, and also the first *and* second movements of No. 93. Haydn had certainly succeeded in guessing the English taste . . .

The *Largo cantabile* in barred C opens with another stroke of great originality; having heard it, one wonders why no one ever thought of it before. The music is announced by a solo string quartet, and it is not until bar 9 that the strings, "Tutti ma piano", and a solo bassoon repeat the theme in "normal" orchestral colours. The rests between the notes of the theme itself as well as the trill are all destined for dotted treatment in the grand Baroque manner. The movement is a new kind of variation form but *durchkomponiert* and without any double bars or repeat signs: new, because Haydn has here combined variation with rondo form, creating a fascinating hybrid that would be called "variation rondo form" if he had composed more examples of it and made it more popular. The theme is always repeated in the tonic; in between the theme's announcement, we wander into other keys and introduce material that is new but often related to the theme. The first such "excursion" is in G minor and in the Handelian manner, with dotted figures and chain trills, such as would awaken delightful *déjà-entendu* feelings in British hearts. Excursion Two slides into quaver triplets and introduces us to a delightful solo timpani passage (bar 30), again a presage of more to come. It will have been noted that Haydn very often gives us a hint of some instrument's coming prominence (thus the oboe solo in No. 96/I introduction foretelling the great oboe solo in the Trio, and the solo cello in No. 95/II preparing the way for the Trio); here he gives us the first taste of what will become a famous timpani solo towards the end of the movement. This Excursion Two continues with a ravishingly beautiful oboe solo, which grows magically out of held D^2 minims to curve gracefully over the accompanying orchestra. The effect is highly operatic, almost like the beginning of the slow section in some great *scena*. When the theme comes back it is carefully transformed to continue producing these triplets as an accompaniment in the second violin. In fact the theme is immediately transformed into a huge orchestra *crescendo*, one of the most powerful of the first Salomon Symphonies, and we modulate in slow waves from G minor to B flat and to the dominant of G in a spellbinding *decrescendo* (marked "sempre più piano"); arriving at the penultimate announcement of the theme. This whole section is bound together by the ubiquitous triplets, which lend a sense of unity to this brilliantly constructed *Adagio*. The feeling of unbroken line is further enhanced by a last and poignantly beautiful oboe solo (still in triplets: bars 67 *ff.*), reminding us of that instrument's previous solo. The final announcement of the theme is *forte* but breaks off to introduce a kind of cadenza in which the timpani have an effective solo. Following this passage of suspended motion, the bassoons let out a most obscene and ridiculous *ff* note, C^1 (two octaves below middle C, which is one of the few times that Haydn ever indulged in Rabelaisian humour. It is an extremely comic effect. The whole movement indeed has a joviality and high spirits that complement very effectively the swashbuckling outer parts of the Symphony.

Haydn is now beginning to speed up his minuet sections. Those of 1791 were still in the slower "Viennese" tempo (as indeed befitted such a delightfully Austrian dance movement as No. 96/III), but now we find "Allegro" more prominent than the older "Allegretto". No. 93/III is *Allegro* and so is No. 98/III, while No. 94/III is *Allegro molto;* only No. 97 is marked with the slower tempo. Together with this increase of tempo goes a certain incisiveness and the same very symphonic approach that already distinguished No. 92/III ("Oxford"). In No. 93/III we observe an interesting attempt to link the *Menuetto* to the first movement, and by means of the latter's important second subject. The accompaniment is identical even to the staccato dots and the melodies have the same *Urlinie* in both cases. In the second part we note another prominent timpani solo, this time a long *pp* roll. The layout of the score is highly original here, the two oboes and two violins echoing each other and a double pedal point being executed by the flute in repeated quavers (in itself an almost Mahlerian effect) at D^3 and the timpani three octaves below.

In the Trio we find ourselves in the middle of a sumptuous pageant, with the wind band and timpani thundering out a series of fanfares on the note D. Each time the strings answer in some unexpected key, the first time in B minor, the second time in G. It is a curiously aggressive and almost exhibitionistic and masculine movement which obviously had a profound effect on Beethoven.

Haydn seems to have had this Symphony in mind for Frau von Genzinger: he had promised her a new symphony early in 1790 (CCLN 99) but although he had written Nos. 95 and 96 in between, it was No. 93 that he thought, as we see, to dedicate to her. "I cannot send Your Grace the Symphony which is dedicated to you, for the following reasons: first, because I intend to alter the last movement of it, and to improve it, since it is too weak compared with the first. I was convinced of this myself, and so was the public, when it was played the first time last Friday; notwithstanding which, it made the most profound impression on the audience. The second reason is that I really dread the risk of its falling into other hands . . ." (letter of 2 March 1792, probably misdated, because "last Friday" would be 24 February, at which No. 93 was repeated; but it is clear that No. 93 is meant; CCLN 131).

We have no means of knowing if Haydn ever found the time to revise the movement, or if what we now have is still the first, "uncorrected" version. As it stands, however, it is difficult to see any weakness and certainly not any feebleness, so perhaps the original version was really discarded. It is in sonata form and marked *Presto, ma non troppo*, but its Finale character is assured by the light metre (2/4) and by the way in which the movement is laid out, the first section being in Haydn's customary scheme of:

‖: A :‖: B + A :‖
16 bars 26 bars 8 bars

and ending on the tonic. There is a long transition to the dominant, and then a repetition of the first subject in that key – all as might be expected; what follows would appear to be the closing material in the dominant, a broadly spaced *tutti*. At the end of the end of the *tutti* we are surprised to find a full-fledged second subject and one, moreover, clearly related to the subsidiary theme of the first movement and also a passage in the Minuet. The lead-back to the recapitulation has always been the delight of connoisseurs: from a *tutti* ending in the dominant of the mediant (bass: C sharp), a solo cello repeats the octave skip *(p)* twice, whereupon Haydn simply jumps *fortissimo* into unison D and the recapitulation. Like many details of this Symphony, this sliding into the tonic from a pivotal leading note (in this case: V of III = leading note of I) is something which Beethoven would put to excellent use. The coda introduces still another timpani solo, once again a *pp* roll on a tonic pedal point and once again unsupported. At the end of this coda, the oboes, bassoons, horns and trumpets blare out the theme (supported by timpani) in a first rousing fanfare to echo the sound of the Trio (the second horns and trumpets had to fake the written D^1, sounding E, which were not on valveless brass instruments . . .) and conclude one of Haydn's most extrovert, hearty and eminently successful attempts at *le goût anglais*.

Symphony No. 94 in G (1791)
("The Surprise"/"Mit dem Paukenschlag")

This is, and for at least a century and half has been, Haydn's most celebrated piece of music, rivalling the popular affection for the *Creation* in German-speaking countries and surpassing it in the Anglo-Saxon world. It is certainly the most overplayed Haydn symphony and one of the most hackneyed pieces in the whole repertoire of classical music. It has only been saved from an even "worse" popularity by not having been arranged as a jazz tune, in the manner of Mozart's "Symphony No. 40" or (in earlier years) the Sonata K. 545. Because of its being so overplayed, Haydn biographers have not treated it kindly, possibly because of a simple case of over-exposure. The public, as is well known, finds it easier to love and remember a piece of music with a history, a nickname, one connected with an anecdote. It is scarcely an accident that Edition Eulenburg, when it began to issue the lesser-known Haydn symphonies in miniature score, printed "The Oxford" before Nos. 90 and 91, "L'ours" before No. 80, "Der Schulmeister" before Nos. 52 or 54 (both far greater works), "Maria Theresa" before No. 47 – and so forth; the list is long and slightly depressing. On the other hand, it must be recalled that Symphony No. 94 had no name at all when it was first performed in 1792; and the "Surprise" in the second movement was hardly the

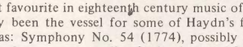
[5] This is the first London Symphony in our chronological arrangement that was analyzed by Sir Donald Francis Tovey in his famous series of programme notes which were gathered together in essay form by the Oxford University Press. Tovey's understanding of Haydn was, for his time, almost unique and was probably considered exaggerated and eccentric. His analyses remain the finest collection of their kind on Haydn. *Essays in Musical Analysis,* 6 vols., London (O.U.P.) 1935 *et seq.*

Johann Peter Salomon, Haydn's great impressario and leader of the Salomon Orchestra. This is a pencil sketch by George Dance, dated 19th June, 1794. From the collection of H.C.Robbins-Landon, Vienna.

sole reason for the work's immediate popularity in London. If we examine the whole Symphony with critical impartiality, it is clear that it has special qualities in all its movements – not only the *Andante* – that place it somewhat in a class by itself, at least in the first series of the Salomon Symphonies. It is, obviously, the second movement which propelled it into the small group of really popular Haydn compositions; and it will be seen that the *Andante* is a particularly beautiful, elegant and in part stirring piece of music which every bit deserves the fame it enjoys.

The first thing that sets it apart from its companions of the 1791-2 season is, of course, the key – G major. This pastoral key, a great favourite in eighteenth century music of all *genres,* had already been the vessel for some of Haydn's finest symphonic ideas: Symphony No. 54 (1774), possibly a work revised for London, was outstanding for its time, and Symphonies Nos. 88 (1787?) and 92 ("Oxford", 1789) are the two works that might be considered the greatest immediate precursors of the "Surprise". With the limitations of the trumpets in G – a subject to which we will return in a moment – Haydn scored these earlier G major Symphonies with trumpets in C. This gave a curious orchestral colour to the brass parts of these pieces and taxed Haydn's imagination to overcome the technical drawbacks. Mozart tackled the problem in a symphony only once: in the magnificent theatrical Overture in three connected movements (K. 318), where he used four horns and two trumpets. (The timpani part in the autograph of K. 318 was added later to the autograph and is in the very curious pitch of high G and [normal] D.) K. 318 achieved hardly any circulation in Mozart's lifetime, however, and thus the full orchestra in G major was, as far as most European musicians were concerned, a Haydn invention – which historically speaking it was, since Symphony 54 (1774) precedes Mozart's K. 318 by five years.

Haydn originally started to write the autograph of Symphony No. 94 with trumpets in G, the so-called "English" trumpets referred to in Altenburg's famous treatise of 1795; in Italy they were called "trombe piccole". Since their diatonic scale did not begin until sounding G^2, their limitations were really very extreme in an age where the *clarino* register had almost entirely disappeared except in remote provincial pockets. Their "useful" notes, *de anno* 1791-2 were:



which meant that their upper notes were in an extremely high range of the orchestra and that the trumpets would tend to cut through the texture even in *forte* passages. The sounding C^3 being impure (it could be "tipped up" to C sharp more easily), its use at this fearfully high range was dubious. Haydn wrote the whole opening movement of No. 94 with G trumpets, and he was very careful to use them mainly up to written E^2 (= B^2); only once does he employ the tricky sounding C^3 (I:214); but he must have decided that they would be too difficult to play and perhaps also too shrill; for having completed the opening movement he changed to C trumpets and wrote, at the first entrance of the original (G) trumpet parts in the autograph (I:21), "a parte" over the stave, crossing out the discarded parts. The C trumpet parts for I are on a separate sheet at the end of the MS. By the time he reached the third and fourth movements, Haydn put C trumpets in the score: the slow movement would have had parts in C as a matter of course. The original G trumpet parts are printed as an Appendix to the Haydn-Mozart-Presse (Philharmonia) score.

Symphony No. 94 begins with a pastoral introduction, the only one of the first set of London Symphonies to open *piano;* years of subsequent symphonic writing have possibly blunted our ears to the originality and freshness of the beginning, for wind band *soli* marked "cantabile". The first subject is one of Haydn's very shortest, and in its harmonic pattern it is similar to that of No. 86 (also off-tonic, also only a few bars in

length); and if we have studied that previous work for Paris, we will expect a large *tutti* to establish the tonic and a repetition of the main theme. That seems to be what happens in No. 94: 14 bars of a rousing orchestral flourish and then after another four bars' transition the main theme over again, with a countersubject in the oboe. But there is one significant difference: in No. 86, the *tutti* turned into a bridge passage and modulated to the dominant; in No. 94, we are still in the tonic when the theme is reintroduced. The whole procedure is then repeated: bridge passage to the dominant and then the main theme in a brilliantly ambivalent tonal position of appearing to be in F major for a moment before moving deftly into the dominant of the dominant.

The shortness and tonal instability of the first theme leads Haydn to balance it with a very long section in the dominant and a second subject group which consists of two distinct themes. No. 94, then, is almost unique in Haydn's symphonic *oeuvre* by having three main subjects.

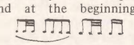
In the development Haydn introduces another great innovation: the G drum is tuned to A at the end of the exposition (the player is given plenty of time to retune, and plenty of time afterwards to get his instrument back to the tonic). Haydn can, by this operation, have drums in the tonic and dominant key for his long episode in D minor during the development section (bars 123 *ff.*). This tremendous "leap forward" into later orchestral practice is clearly marked in Haydn's autograph but was later changed (not in Haydn's hand; is it Salomon's?) to fit the un-retuned drums of G and D. The score by an Esterházy copyist which is a copy Haydn had made when he returned from England in the Summer of 1792 has the original A version unchanged, which shows that the change was made later. No doubt this innovation will have created utter chaos in most orchestras, whereas Haydn will have explained what he wanted verbally to the London players.

The last and perhaps wittiest of the ambiguous preparations for the main theme is that of the actual recapitulation, which is reached at the tail end of a full cadence in B minor for the whole orchestra. *(see above example)*

Once more there is an extraordinary allusion to the introduction.

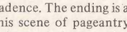
Originally there was no "Surprise" in the *Andante* and the first 32 bars of the present score were, in the original MS., twice eight bars with repeat signs. The original version is printed as an Appendix of the Haydn-Mozart-Presse (and Philharmonia 794) score. There are three highly indicative markings that should help conductors to understand the movement's character. The one is the description of the main theme in the autograph as "Semplice". This sort of nursery tune is very difficult to write so that it sounds effective, "child-like" and innocent; Haydn had composed a similar kind of movement many years before, the second movement of the "Schoolmaster" Symphony No. 55, where we also find the indication "Adagio, ma semplicamente" (which meant in that case totally without vibrato, the subsequent indication for which is "dolce"). The movement is also *Andante* and not *Allegretto;* almost everyone nowadays takes it too quickly, which automatically destroys many of Haydn's delicate effects. The third point is more subtle: it is the use of *tenuto* on the crotchets. How necessary this *tenuto* is (writing the unadorned crotchet was obviously insufficient) may be seen in the many performances where despite this warning the notes are not held to the very end. This *tenuto* also serves another function. By holding the note to its full length, the melodic stress does not simply end there, as it otherwise would, but carries on to the next phrase. Thus each one of the crotchets serves the dualistic purpose of forming the end of one phrase and leading in the beginning of the next.

The first variation is in two groups of eight bars, both repeated. It is the beginning of a gradual build-up of melodic, rhythmic and orchestral tension-*cum*-relaxation which shows Haydn the supreme master-craftsman. Here the theme is presented in the middle strings and the first violin, once joined by the flute, have a countersubject. The second variation is in the tonic minor and only the first eight bars are marked with a repeat sign. From there to the end of the movement everything is *auskomponiert.* The entrance of the brass and timpani at bar 65 mark the climax of a steady increase in tension during the minor section. From steady quavers we move unobtrusively to semiquavers in the accompaniment (53,4) and at the beginning of the *minore's* second part to



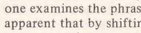
Variation three (bars 75 *ff.*) returns to *piano* but the increased rhythmic division in semiquavers is continued during the oboe solo, while the second part returns to the original slower quaver pulse but shifts the attention to a ravishingly beautiful solo passage for first flute and first oboe. Variation four (bars 107 *ff.*) is a march with the trumpets and horns thundering out the theme *fortissimo* and the basic pulse still more increased by having the violins move in sextuplet semiquavers. The off-beat triple stops by the second violins, violas and cellos adds one further element of excitement to this stirring section. Its repetition (bars 115 *ff.*) is a startling contrast – just strings and bassoons *col basso*, and the score is marked "pianissimo e doice". The march resumes, moving majestically towards a massive *fermata* on a deceptive cadence. The ending is as if a sudden veil had been drawn across this scene of pageantry, blurring the outlines and merging the colours: it is a magical effect, giving the music some of the ephemerality, the lingering sadness that we find in Watteau's *fetes.*

The only other time Haydn had ever used such a quick tempo for a minuet was in Symphony No. 28 (1765): No. 94's *Menuet (Allegro molto)* seems to be a Bruegelian dance, but although the oboes, horns, second violins and violas have the

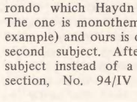


rhythm to contrast with the strong first beat of trumpets, timpani and basses, the effect is much more like a lusty, and perhaps rather crude, peasants' dance than the waltz with the rhythm of which it has obvious affinities. The Trio, a wispy and rather droll piece for bassoon and strings, is carefully bound to the *Menuet* by the association of a quaver scale (going in inverted direction in the Trio) and by intervallic association.

The Finale is one of the most sophisticated examples of a sonata rondo that Haydn (or anyone else) ever composed. If one examines the phrasing of the main theme, it is immediately apparent that by shifting the accents to the 4th and 2nd quavers



the music divests itself of what would otherwise be a conventional four-squaredness. Formally this movement is one of two basic kinds of sonata rondo which Haydn favoured during the London period. The one is monothematic (No. 97/IV is a very characteristic example) and ours is duo-thematic, with a broadly contrasting second subject. After the announcement of the second subject instead of a double bar and then a development section, No. 94/IV dispenses entirely with the double bar and then modulates back to the tonic and a restatement of the main theme. Schematically this may be expressed as follows:



The rondo character is suggested by the return to the main theme and the tonic key, but there follows a lively and extremely virtuoso development as in strict sonata form. There is even a *fausse reprise* of an unexpected kind. After this aforementioned development section, Haydn returns once again to the main theme (bar 145), but its progress is immediately broken off by a new development in G minor which dashes its way through another kaleidoscopic series of modulations and arrives back at the main theme by a series of *perpetuum mobile* figures (bars 178 *ff.*). After the second theme there is a gigantic timpani solo (bar 233) which roars out of a tonic pedal point – this solo was later Bowdlerized, but Haydn's original text is not only in the autograph but also in the Esterházy Archives copy and in the authentic MS. parts at Donaueschingen Castle by Johann Elssler.

This is a phenomenal movement, combining as it does an orchestral technique of a superb calibre, a freedom of form (uniting the qualities of sonata and rondo) and a treatment of the thematic material that satisfies the intellectual and fascinates the audience. It is the great summing up of a distinguished line of such Haydn Finales in G major, a key that always seemed to bring out that fascinating and typically Viennese ability to combine rigorous intellectual discipline with great outward beauty. It would be a bold man who would dare give the palm to the triumvirate of G major Finales from the years 1787-1791: No. 88, No. 92 ("Oxford") or No. 94 – the latter in a Symphony which has justly become a symbol for all Haydn's music.

Symphony No. 98 in B flat (1792?)

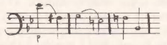
This is the first symphony, and as far as we can tell, the first work altogether in which Haydn uses trumpets and kettledrums in the key of B flat. Mozart never used them in a B flat symphony. Perhaps the use of brass in this key was an English speciality, though the tradition existed in Salzburg. Haydn's brother Johann Michael used them in a Symphony in B flat dated 29 January 1788 (Perger 28) and also in church music twenty years before (preserved in autograph). The tradition was hardly known in Vienna for instrumental works, however, and it was not till Haydn returned there and introduced his various B flat London works with trumpets and drums (No. 98, *Concertante,* No. 102) that the practice became general. It is a curious detail but worth mentioning. Mozart actually used trumpets in B flat (for example in the Aria "Come un scoglio" *Così fan tutte*), and possibly the fact that he wrote no symphonies in that key after K. 319 may explain their absence in his symphonies. Moreover, B flat orchestral works in Austria were usually either "chamber symphonies" or (for example) piano concertos with B flat *alto* horns but no trumpets or timpani. Although Haydn's many previous B flat symphonies lack any indication of *alto* or *basso* for the horns, there is no reason to think that his orchestral palette for B flat was any different from Mozart's. The only indication of *alto* for horns that exists before 1791 is for C horns, and that frequently because there were almost never trumpets at Eszterháza (1780 was an exception) and the C *alto* horns took over the function of the trumpets. In England, however, there seems to have been no tradition for *alto* horn playing, certainly not in C and probably not in 3 flat either. Haydn's friend William Shield, discussing

the pitch and transposition of all the horns in 1800[7] writes: "Corni in B flat . . . The length of a B flat Horn renders the tone very dead, in consequence of which Compositions in this key are often accompanied with E flat Horns", and goes on to add an example with the top line the "written notes" and the bottom line "real tones", from which it is abundantly clear that B flat horns were played *basso.* The subdued brilliance of trumpets and horns in that key gives the orchestral sound a kind of solemn elegance, quite different from the clear, shining colour they have in D major or the martial excitement they generate in C major, at least in Haydn's treatment of that key. From this point in Haydn's career, B flat major with the full orchestra plays a major rôle, not only in symphonies but particularly in the late Masses (*Missa Sancti Bernardi de Offida* of 1796 and the Masses of 1799, 1801 and 1802) and the two late Oratorios, the *Creation* and *Seasons.*

No doubt the brass and timpani in B flat lend to this work a heaviness and weight which accord well with the serious atmosphere of the Symphony as a whole. The orchestral colour seems to have disturbed nineteenth-century musicians because this is the second London work in which the entire trumpet and timpani parts were rewritten; Haydn's original parts were first published in modern times by the present writer (*Music Review* 1954). Bad though these rewritten parts are throughout, the arranger outdid himself in two places: he is scandalously inept in the heavily brass and timpani-accented Minuet, the texture of which he ruined, and criminally negligent in the last part of the Finale; there, at bars 344 *ff.*, the trumpets double the horns at the beginning when the music is *forte,* giving a shining gloss to the top of the orchestral sound and later they are fastidiously lowered a little in pitch when the whole passage is repeated in a momentous *piano* to *crescendo;* all this studied treatment of the brass parts was ruthlessly destroyed by the editorial hack. It is hard to believe that anyone could have been so unmusical.

In keeping with the spirit of the work, the *Adagio* introduction begins in B flat minor and announces the *Allegro's* main subject at once, or at least the first four notes of it. This literal pre-announcement of the principal theme occurred in 1788, with Symphony No. 90 in C, and both are part of Haydn's efforts to bind the introduction more closely to the movement proper. We shall see in the final Symphony of 1792 (No. 97) an even more compelling, though concealed, effort which, in turn, will lead to the most complicated relationship between introduction and *allegro* that Haydn attempted, No. 103. *(see above).* It will be noted that the introduction has the notes unbound (or with *staccati*) and marked with *fz* under the minims, whereas in the *Allegro* the melody is elegantly phrased in *legato* slurs. Both facets of the theme appear side by side when the music reaches the dominant and the main subject is introduced again:

The enormous size of the exposition is apparent not only in the number of bars (16 to 131 as compared to 61 bars in No. 95 and 65 in No. 96, the latter counted from the end of the introduction, of course), but also in the length of time Haydn stays in the dominant. By bar 55 he is in the middle of the modulation to the dominant but since he has already arrived at V of V we may say with confidence that from this point to the double bar at 131, the music is firmly in F major. In such a passage as that of bars 75 *ff.* (later repeated in a slightly changed form), the intervals of a sixth, third and fifth are all plainly derived from the main subject, which contains (in order) two third progressions, one fourth, one sixth, one fourth, one fifth, one fourth and one fifth:



The second subject is put off until bar 106; it is a long oboe line in semibreves accompanied by rather restless quavers in the upper strings and broken off by an upwards scale in the first violin which derives from the end of the first subject (beginning of the bridge passage: bars 32 *f*). The long oboe arc is resumed after the interruption and leads to the double bar. In the recapitulation this second statement is given unexpectedly and with a lovely effect to the flute. The serious intention of this Symphony is immediately made even more clear in the development section, which is an elaborate and contrapuntally involved working-out of the first subject and other material from the exposition's long section in the dominant. There was a constant feeling of restlessness throughout the exposition; this restlessness now turns rather ominously to anxiety in a way quite unprecedented in Haydn's recent career. Verbal description being at best a cloudy substitute for the actual music, one must simply refer to bars 145 *ff.* from the development where this feeling of *Angst* is suddenly behind all those *forzati.*

Tovey, in his brilliant essay on this Symphony, thought that the great slow movement *(Adagio),* the main theme of which is inspired by "God save the King", was Haydn's lament on the death of Mozart; and un-Mozartean though the other five London Symphonies of 1791-2 undoubtedly are – not to speak of the *Concertante* – there are aspects of this beautiful *Adagio* in No. 98 which might be construed as a tribute to the composer of the "Jupiter" Symphony and especially its *Andante.* The same troubled and restless undertones that we have observed in the opening *Allegro* of No. 98 also inform this *Adagio,* and the music rises to a crisis almost amounting to panic in the development section, repeating the pattern of the first movement and also using the same technical device, *viz.* the first notes of the principal subject. The recapitulation enters to the accompaniment of a solo cello, whose lonely sound adds a sense of autumnal beauty to the music. When the theme enters the last time, the first oboe has the theme and the first violin has a staggering E flat, creating a sudden ambiguity and poignancy. The flash of inspiration was, like many things in this Symphony, destroyed by the hacks in the nineteenth century. In one score we have examined (Cranz), the original plate had what Haydn wrote in the first violin part, and one can see that it was subsequently changed to F^1, which is what *die Herren* Gyrowetz or Pleyel or Wranitzky would have written. We shall never know if Haydn really composed this profoundly personal movement in private memory of his dead young friend; but if he did, it is the greatest epitaph that Mozart, who lay in a nameless Viennese grave, would ever receive.

The *Menuet* is heavily symphonic, with a dark swirl of colour in the *soli* for wind band and timpani at bars 4-6 and a series of *forzati* towards the end that culminate in an explosive *ff* at bar 50. The Trio omits horns, trumpets and drums so that the folk-tune of a melody will stand out in all its innocence.

This is the largest, most complex and ambitious symphonic Finale of Haydn's career up to now and is only matched in quite another sphere and with another purpose by the Finale of Mozart's "Jupiter". Haydn's *Presto* has 386 bars, and the first 147 are to be repeated, a total length of some eleven minutes. The entire Symphony is thus nearly thirty-five minutes in length even at our tempi which are certainly quicker than those Haydn and Salomon would have chosen. After the double bar, preceded by a *fermata* which must apply, one assumes, only to the *second* time round, the music drops into A flat major and the totally unexpected pleasure of a series of solo violin passages for Mr. Salomon. These "Salomon soli"

[7] *Introduction to Harmony,* London, Printed for the Author, p. 95.

are not just confined to the section after the double bar; after a big *tutti* the solo violin enters again and in a very extended solo section, he carries the music back to the recapitulation and announces the main theme himself. If the London audience was already on its tiptoes, Haydn has still more sensational effects in store for us. In keeping with the enormous size of the Finale as a whole, the coda is equally huge. It begins with the upbeat to bar 328 and the tempo is retarded to "più moderato". The main theme sounds, at first, like a lunatic slow-motion copy of itself, but after the seventh bar, the music lunges ahead by the notational trick of having been written in semiquavers. This "più moderato" has, in fact, had the opposite effect of speeding up the music in a most exciting way. In the middle of this bustle of semiquavers, Haydn introduces an orchestral effect which is intoxicating: the brass and timpani seem to interrupt and then to take over the pattern of exchange between the bass line and the top woodwind. The whole thing is then repeated with different emphasis and *piano*, leading (as Salomon's quintet arrangement suggests) to a huge *crescendo* – the autograph and the authentic MS. parts are rather fragmented here as to what happens after the piano.

It must have been thought, that historic night of 2 March 1792, that Haydn had now reached the end of his limitless invention, and the end of the Symphony. But, no doubt to the utter incredulity of the London public, Dr. Haydn now proceeded to display his talents on the *fortepiano* (still marked, of course, *Cembalo Solo* in the autograph). One needs only a modicum of imagination to conjure up the cheers of delight and the stamping that greeted this dexterous display on the part of the world's greatest living composer.

Symphony No. 97 in C (1792)

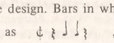
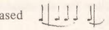
This is Haydn's last symphony in C major, the end of a long series that the composer began about 1760, when still in the service of Count Morzin, with Nos. 32, 33 and, possibly slightly later, No. 20. As distinguished from the customary kind of C major symphony with oboes and horns (Nos. 2, 9 or 25) this other type in the same key includes trumpets and kettledrums. It is some time, indeed, before Haydn uses those instruments in any other key except C major, so that C becomes for Haydn what D major was for Bach – a "festival" key. When Haydn became director of the Esterházy establishment, he found no trumpets in the orchestra, and it was some time before he composed any more "festival" symphonies. Gradually he evolved a clever substitute for trumpets, namely horns in high C (C *alto*), which together with timpani produced a brilliant orchestral effect. Occasionally Haydn was able to recruit trumpets as well, and the combination of C *alto* horns and trumpets (at the same pitch) proved to be an intoxicating sound in Symphony No. 56 (1774). In the years from about 1768 to 1788, we have a long series of C major "festival" symphonies, including Nos. 38, 41, 48 ("Maria Theresa"), 50, 56, 60 ("Il Distratto"), 63 ("La Roxelane"), 69 ("Laudon"), 82 ("L'ours") and 90. Beginning with an orchestra of oboes, horns and/or trumpets, kettledrums and strings (with bassoons *col basso*), this group was gradually widened to include a flute as in No. 41 (where it only plays in the slow movement) and an *obbligato* bassoon as in No. 56 (also only in the slow movement, though it otherwise was expected to double the bass line). By No. 69, the orchestra includes two bassoons with an independent part throughout, and by No. 82 there is an *obbligato* flute part in all movements. Symphony No. 90 is the last such "festival" symphony to require C *alto* horns (though as we have seen, in London they probably played them in C *basso* when Haydn conducted the work there in 1791). No. 97 uses the usual Salomon orchestra (pairs of woodwind without clarinets, C *basso* horns, trumpets and timpani with the customary strings) and carries this peculiarly Haydnesque type of symphony to a final burst of glory.

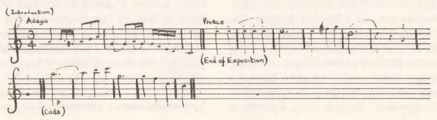
The *Adagio* introduction carries a step further Haydn's experiments with uniting the introduction to the rest of the movement. At this stage the introductions are still relatively short, so that a complicated thematic relationship with the ensuing *Vivace*, or with the rest of the Symphony, cannot be expected; and yet Haydn manages to unite the *Adagio* with what follows in a more indirect way than the procedure of more-or-less direct quotation observed in No. 98. Here the basic melodic line, stripped of its ornaments, appears in the closing material of the exposition (bars 97 *ff.*) and, much more directly, in the coda (bars 240 *ff.*). The tonally rather ambiguous accompaniment of the passage when it first appears in the introduction – ambiguous because of the E flat in violin II – is reproduced in the dominant but (for obvious reasons) more explicitly in the coda, where the thought is also extended: *(see below)*

The accompaniment that leads into the first violins' note A^1 is a repeated middle C in the second violin, and this figure is then transferred to the melody at the end of the exposition. It is also worth noting that there is a definite three-part feeling to the introduction, mostly brought about because the music modulates from I to V and back again, and because the two complete bars quoted (they are bars 2, 3 and the first note of 4) at the beginning also finish off the *Adagio* and go straight into the *Vivace*.

The *Vivace* seems to reflect, in its exuberant and aggresive hammering-out of the tonic triad, the triumph of Haydn's first visit to London. It is immensely self-assured music and orchestrated in a flamboyant way, with prominent kettledrums. It is a beautifully proportioned movement and certainly the boldest-sounding of the first six London Symphonies; it is also a work which had, perhaps, more influence than any other of its fellows. Its orchestral layout was obviously the model for Beethoven's First Symphony and a host of minor works written at the turn of the century.

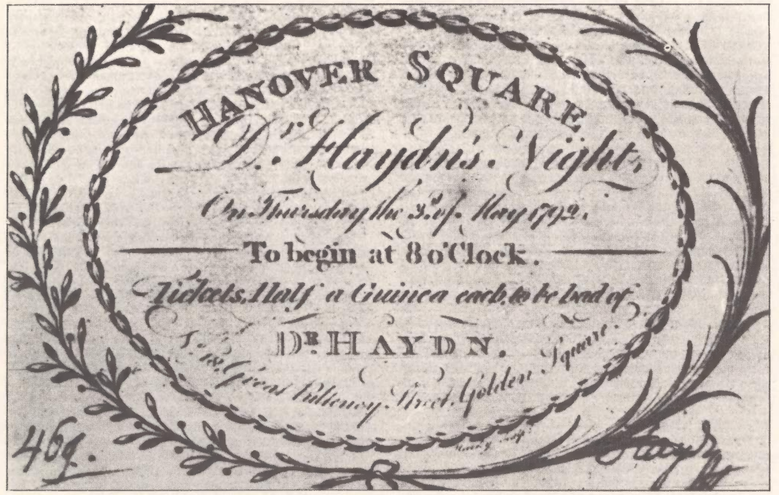
To counteract the square, firmly on-the-beat quality of the first subject, Haydn introduced a very complicated system of rhythmic displacements during the development to break down the bar lines. Nevertheless the outstanding feature of the first movement as a whole was its violently forceful first subject, definitely on the beat. The rest of the Symphony is, significantly, made up of movements the principal subjects of which are *all* introduced by an upbeat: this obtains in the *Adagio, ma non troppo,* in both *Menuetto* and Trio, and in the Finale. That Haydn should go to such extremes to offset the impression of metric squareness and solidity in the first movement shows what a powerful effect he expected it to have. The opposite was the case in the "Surprise", where the terrific strength of the second movement (all very much on the beat and in march-like two four tempo) suggested to its composer to form all the other principal subjects of the first, third and fourth movements with strong upbeats.

The rhythmic displacement that Haydn now imposes on the slow movement of No. 97 is so strong that the second and fourth beats often seem to tower over the first and third. This is of course a deliberate design. Bars in which the woodwind and horns appear only as  , and in which the strings are phrased  , are designed to foster this displacement of the strong beats. Another feature of this movement which is immediately repeated in the Minuet is that everything is written out and there are – except in the F minor part – no repeat signs. This procedure is so rare in Haydn's symphonies that there can be no question that the middle movements were especially so designed and were conceived in some respects as an entity. In fact there is some evidence that Haydn may have put off composing the first movement until the last three had been completed: the autograph of the first movement ends with "Laus Deo", a note of quiet thanks that Haydn otherwise reserved for the conclusions of his scores. In any case, the whole of Symphony No. 97 is a strong unity.



The Adagio is formally a set of free variations. Variation II introduces triplet arabesques in the first violins, Variation II is in F minor and it is here that the trumpets and timpani first enter in this movement. Variation III introduces one of Haydn's boldest orchestral devices: the violins move into a semiquaver pattern and the autograph directs them to play "al ponticello", high on the bridge. This gives a nasty, agressive, metallic sound which must have staggered the London public in May 1792: it also requires a brilliant orchestral technique and Haydn did not import this spectacular device when he took the Symphony back to the Continent. There are no "ponticello" remarks on any of the authentic sources except for those destined for England (*i.e.*, also including Salomon's arrangement for quintet and the ever-reliable Birchall print). This particular passage is marked *f*, and when Haydn repeats it *p*, he varies the sound by requesting "vicino al ponticello" (near the bridge). This huge *ponticello* section extends in Haydn's autograph – which, incidentally, was unknown to Haydn scholars until its rather mysterious reappearance at the Berlin auction house of Gerd Rosen in 1951 – from bar 85 (with upbeat) to and including bar 127. The coda is one of the most beautiful parts of Haydn's late orchestral scores: the "naturale" of the violins in bar 128, cancelling the "ponticello" instructions, comes with an incredible sense of relief after the Beckmesser chattering. It is typical that this whole "ponticello" section was not printed in any modern score until that of the Haydn-Mozart-Presse. Over repeated semiquavers in the upper strings and "portato" repeated quavers in the cellos and basses, Haydn has the first flute and first oboe spin out a fragment of a previous thought, while the bassoons fill in the tenor harmony. It is suddenly a great wave of emotion, quite unexpected in this otherwise extroverted Symphony, which rises to a *fortissimo* climax at bar 145 and then dies away. The two chords that Haydn rather surprisingly uses to cut off this wave of almost uncontrolled emotion (though nothing in Haydn, as we know, is really uncontrolled) reminds us that in those days London audiences were accustomed to applaud after individual movements. Later, at the end of Symphony No. 101's slow movement, Haydn originally ended with a loud chord which, as we shall see, he later suppressed.

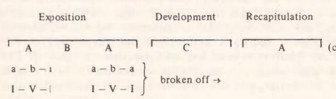
The *Menuetto* is *durchkomponiert* and so is the Trio. This allows Haydn to vary each repetition which was otherwise purely mechanical. We return to the rousing C major "bloody red" of the first movement, except that there is a constant attempt to soften the aggressive sound by constructing the melody with long legato phrases. The theme is first presented in this way, which seems to make the Minuet curiously symphonic and dignified. It is definitely not a quick movement (as was No. 94's *Allegro molto* Minuet). Thus the two middle movements gradually slow down, and then bring up the quick tempo of the outer movements in a graceful curve. The main theme, originally so *legato*, is then presented *p* and *staccato*, then very *staccato* with slashing *fz* accents. There is a startling timpani entrance, *Solo* and *f*, which crashes into the middle of a *piano* passage (twice: at bars 36 and 62). The Trio is again a violent contrast, returning to the doggerel


HANOVER SQUARE.
Dr. Haydn's Night.
On Thursday the 3d. of May 1792.
To begin at 8 o'Clock.
Tickets Half a Guinea each, to be had of
Dr. HAYDN.
Great Pulteney, Golden Square.
469.

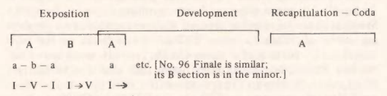
This is a ticket to Haydn's benefit concert on 3rd May, 1792. It was given by the composer to Mrs. Papendiek, who noted on the reverse side that the Duchess of York was present for the first time in England. "1500 people entered the door." Albi Rosenthal, London-Oxford.

of the first movement's second subject. Here it is an almost aggressively Austrian dance complete with yodel-like accents, the melodic construction of which shows, as always with Haydn when he is being "semplice" or "innocente", extreme sophistication and an uncanny sense of poise. The melody is first given to solo oboe, solo bassoon and the strings; the accompaniment later includes two horns which, like the bassoons in the first movement's second subject, play the accompaniment. But at the end, Haydn introduces a fantastic orchestration with "Salomon Solo ma piano" (a humorous warning to the vigorous German leader) and the trumpets and timpani entering quietly. Charles Rosen, who quotes this section, says of it, "The oom-pah-pah of a German dance band is rendered with the utmost refinement, amazingly by kettledrums and trumpets *pianissimo*, and the rustic *glissando* (a sort of glottal stop on the first beats) is given a finicky elegance by the grace notes in the horns as well as by the doubling of the melody an octave higher with the solo violin. These details are not intended to blend, but to be set in relief: they are individually exquisite."

Haydn originally marked the *Finale* "Spiritoso" and later, probably after he had left London in 1792, changed the tempo to *Preste assai*. This is a sonata-rondo, such as we have seen in Nos. 94 and 96, but (like No. 96) without any second subject. In earlier works, such as Symphonies Nos. 85 or 88, Haydn generally preferred to have a full tripartite statement in the exposition, as follows:



The formal scheme of No. 97's *Finale* is somewhat different in that the repetition of the a-b-a is shortened by having the development interrupt the "A" section in the manner of the old *fausse reprise* joke (where in the development section the main subject was introduced in the tonic but then broken off and further worked out). It is part of Haydn's constant sense of surprise. Among the many unexpected things in this racy and high spirited *Finale* is the incredible sound of the two horns in the "B" section, hammering out the accompaniment – a series of repeated quavers on the note G – in *forte*, against the melodic instruments' *piano*. The loud accompaniment is then transferred to the trumpets and kettledrums. When Haydn reaches the repetition of "A", the "B" is cancelled and the development begins ("C") in C minor:



Just before the end of this ebullient movement Haydn introduces a double *fermata*, the second time with the whole orchestra (including a timpani roll) rising in a *crescendo* and sinking again back to *piano*. Altogether this *Finale* is in many respects – formal, orchestral and in spirit – a prototype for fast-moving rondos with an extended development section and a truncated exposition. As far as anything in Haydn is "typical", No. 97/IV is a typical late-period sonata-rondo. Its influence is also felt in Haydn's own instrumental works of the coming years: the *Finales* of the C major Quartet Op. 74 No. 1 (1793), the Trio for pianoforte, violin and cello No. 35 (1794-5?) and even the London Trio in C for 2 flutes and cello (1794) all owe part of their formal construction, their melodic patterns and above all their *esprit* to Symphony No. 97's brilliant conclusion.

And with this gay and forceful Symphony, Haydn completed the first six Salomon Symphonies, setting a new standard of symphonic excellence which would only be surpassed by his own second series for London. Many commentators have justly pointed out that as a work of art, the "Oxford" Symphony No. 92 (1789) reaches a pinnacle of formal sophistication and pure physical beauty that place it on the same level as the first six London Symphonies. The excellence of the "Oxford" is not to be disputed, and if one would want to describe the principal new feature of the works composed in England, it would probably be a certain *panache*, a sparkling brilliance which is partly orchestral. If there were any criticism to be made of the "Oxford", it would be that the trumpets and timpani, which were possibly added later – how much later is a difficult question, for they are already in the Wallerstein manuscripts that Haydn sent off from Eszterháza in 1789 – seem in the quick movements to be rather superimposed on the rest of the orchestral layout. That astute nineteenth-century French critic, E.-M.-E. Deldevez[8]), comparing them to the superbly integrated trumpet and timpani parts of Symphony No. 102, thought those of the "Oxford" spurious; they are not, but they are not always felicitous. We cannot enter into details here – an analysis of the problem would exceed the available space – but this is the kind of thing that never happens even in the first series of London Symphonies. In this one respect, therefore, these works for Salomon's concerts of the 1791 and 1792 season represent an even finer *Auslese* of their composer's abilities as a symphonist than all but a very few of their chronological precursors. Apart from the "Oxford", we would say that only Nos. 82, 86 and 88 can compare with the finest of the first London set (such as No. 98). Hardly anyone except their creator would have imagined that he would now surpass even their excellence in a second series destined for the same friendly capital.

Haydn wrote his last six Symphonies between 1793 and the Spring of 1795. He was now indisputably the *doyen* of European composers; there was no one to touch him. Haydn was too wise and too sensitive not to realize the responsibilities that such a position of crowded isolation (if we may use the apparent tautology) brought with it, and he rose to the occasion in a way that hardly even his most fervent admirers could have dreamed. The heady success of the 1792 London season seemed to have released in him as yet untouched well-springs of inspiration and fertility. High as was the standard of his first Salomon Symphonies, that of the second is even higher – and this enlargement occurs in every sense. The slow movements now reach a depth of profundity that the earlier symphonies only occasionally suggest (*e.g.* the great *Capriccio* in No. 86). The orchestration is also fuller, not only generally but specifically in that clarinets now enter Haydn's symphonic scores for the first time. He had not had these instruments at Eszterháza except for a brief period in the 1770s, and for some curious reason he never used them in symphonies of the time (though they appear in the recently resuscitated German *Singspiel, Das abgebrannte Haus [Die Feursbrunst]*. He had written some early divertimenti with clarinets, *e.g.* the *Divertimento a Nove* (II:17) in C, but the instruments he had at his disposal – they were C clarinets – seem to have been technically unsatisfactory; he hardly used them in instrumental music until the Notturni for the King of Naples composed in 1790, where incidentally he again uses only C clarinets. The history of Mozart's peculiarly effective use of clarinets was bound up with the Stadler brothers, who developed the *chalumeau* of lower register of the instrument and also made mechanical improvements in it and the basset horn. Otherwise, apart from Vienna, the clarinets

[8] *Curiosités Musicales*, Paris 1873, p. 20.

even in the 1790s were rather primitive instruments and Haydn used them with a certain amount of circumspection in the Symphonies of 1794 and 1795. We will examine the technical aspects of Haydn's clarinet writing in connection with Symphony No. 99 in E flat, *infra*.

Released from the provincial cage of Eszterháza – where everybody had soon known (*via* the publishing world) what he was doing, but he himself remained a prisoner – Haydn soon developed an almost seismographical, or perhaps one should say mesmeric, ability to sense what the public wanted. If he soon managed to create an instantaneous and international hit in the form of the "Surprise" Symphony in 1792, he surpassed himself with the "Military" two years later; and what is so extraordinary about the wild public success of the latter's slow movement is that it comes from an *earlier work* (part of a Concerto for two lire written for the King of Naples in 1786). Haydn was now so sure of himself that he could pick and choose among his "unpublished" works, seeking out a piece which had not reached any public except that present at Eszterháza, or at the private concerts of King Ferdinand and his friend Norbert Hadrava from the Austrian legation in Naples. Haydn knew, obviously, that this movement, reorchestrated for the London public and provided with a new coda, would be another smash hit. His withholding both No. 94 and No. 100 until their respective seasons had been well in progress shows how carefully he gauged the public pulse, just as he had always stipulated that his new symphonies should be played *after* the interval. All this is partly instinct and partly showmanship, but Haydn's ability to seek out such a hit from among his earlier works is an astonishing tribute to his knowledge of the London and indeed the European public temper. It is also a tribute to the composer's perspicacity that he was writing such music in 1786, destined (at least as far as Haydn or anyone else then knew) for an eccentric King and his cronies in a faraway capital and in a sense a stillborn child. It took London to release this movement from an unmerited obscurity and Haydn's judgement to know that it had within it the seeds of a gigantic public success.

There were some works among the last six "Londons" that were never supposed to be great popular successes: these were the "private pieces" for connoisseurs which reveal in a special and intimate way the innermost thoughts of their composer. Perhaps Mozart's G minor Symphony K. 550 was such a private work; at any rate it did not become popular until the composer was dead, and was not really considered the essence of the "demonic" Mozart until the Romantic period. Haydn's Symphony No. 102 is also such a piece. Haydn could afford to write a symphony for himself, as it were, after the great success of the 1794 season. No. 102 has never become a popular work in the sense of the "Surprise" and "Military"; no doubt Haydn would have been very surprised if it had. It rights the balance of the last six Salomon Symphonies, revealing in its fantastic intellectual power (the first movement) and in its brooding ambivalence (the second movement) a part of the composer that could not have shown itself to this extent in the crashing Turkish music of No. 100 or the virtuoso brilliance of No. 101 ("The Clock").

The greatest orchestral and formal experimenter of the eighteenth century could not, even at this stage of his life, rest on his laurels. In one work we must have muted trumpets and covered drums, something that had been used in theatrical music (*inter alia* by Mozart in *Idomeneo*, which was still unpublished) but never in a classical symphony (No. 102); in another we must organize the most complex interrelationship between a slow introduction and the main movement since Mozart's K. 543 (No. 103), and in that same Symphony, there is a beginning which is without question the most original (and ominous) beginning of a Symphony, certainly of its period, possibly of all time – the strange drum roll that has given the work its name. The use of the Turkish music in No. 100 is again something used in operatic music, especially Viennese operas with a "Turkish" twist such as Haydn's *L'incontro improvviso* (1775) and Mozart's *Entführung* (1782), but never in a classical symphony. If we are to have monothematic *Finales*, it is now on a grand scale and of an intensity (No. 103/IV) unreached until the first movement of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony. And for the last time in a symphony, Haydn can enjoy melodic excursions into the folklore of eastern Europe, creating wild confusion among ethnographical researchers (are they Croatian, Hungarian, Gypsy, these Balkan tunes?) but delight among London's *fin-de-siècle* audience (No. 103/II). Haydn's own melodies have become almost indistinguishable from folk-tunes: is the melody of No. 104/IV a London street cry, a Croatian folk-tune or Haydn's own creation? We shall probably never know, given the time interval (1795-1974) and the almost complete disappearance of such tunes among eastern European peasants. And in one sense, the matter is of historical interest only, considering the melodic structure of Haydn's London Symphonies as a whole. These exotic excursions, if we may quote the late Bence Szabolcsi in another (Mozartean) context, are a part of the great heritage that Haydn enjoyed as a member of the Austro-Hungarian Empire; but they are reserved for special occasions, like the Turkish music of No. 100.

In sum, these last six Salomon Symphonies are on the one hand a magnificent summing-up, the great harvest of nearly half-a-century, while on the other they open endless new vistas for other and later composers to explore – not least among them Beethoven, who inherited this glorious symphonic tradition and was destined to carry it to new and remote spheres.

Symphony No. 99 in E flat (1793)

Haydn thought he would return to London in 1793. We do not know when in that year he composed this Symphony, but he must have discussed with Salomon the enlargement of the orchestra to include clarinets, for although the London newspapers of the previous seasons had listed clarinet players (Mr. Eley and/or Mr. Fluger or Flieger in 1791 and Mr. [Carl] Hartman a year later, the latter praised for his sweetness of tone in the *Morning Chronicle* during the 1794 season), they seem to have been soloists rather than regular members of the band. From 1794, clarinets were a regular feature of the Salomon orchestra, and also in the Opera Concert of 1795.

We have mentioned that Mozart's clarinet writing was profoundly influenced by the excellence of the Stadlers, especially Anton, who made mechanical improvements on both clarinet and basset horn, significantly to enlarge their tonal compass in the lower register. It is now known that the lost authentic version of Mozart's Clarinet Concerto in A was for an instrument with a range extending lower than the instrument now in general use; originally it was composed, but not completed, for a basset horn in G. Stadler specialized on the *chalumeau* register, as we have noted, and it is questionable whether this lower range had been exploited by any other player to that extent. Certainly Mozart's clarinet writing did not create a "school" for some time, and one wonders if apart from the Stadlers there were other clarinet players capable even of playing some of Mozart's more difficult parts, such as the solo basset horn parts in *La clemenza di Tito*. It is curious that neither Haydn nor Beethoven really followed the Mozartean trend, though Haydn's parts are often closer to Mozart's – especially those composed in the late 1790s in Vienna. It is, moreover, problematic how many of Mozart's clarinet works Haydn can have heard by 1793: hardly the Concerto, and hardly any of the chamber music. The Esterházy band owned MS. copies of Mozart's last three symphonies, but they can scarcely have been acquired in 1788-90 because there were no clarinets and no trumpets in the band and they could not have played K. 543 at all, and K. 551 only by feaving out the trumpet parts. (This raises the question how Haydn performed *Le nozze di Figaro* in 1790 at Eszterháza when his band had no clarinets . . .) Haydn might have seen the scores at Mozart's house. If the G minor Symphony was revised by the composer for the Tonkünstler Concerts in April 1791 to include clarinets, Haydn can only have seen the revised score at the widow's when he returned in 1792. There is no evidence that there were any performances of the G minor Symphony in Vienna in the years 1792-3, when Haydn was there. Haydn's use of the clarinets in No. 99 is nonetheless so idiomatic that one is astounded that he had never used the instruments in orchestral music before. It is interesting to note that the clarinets in this Symphony are much more freely used than in the other works of the 1794 season; for in No. 100 they figure only in the slow movement and in No. 101 they are used with extreme reticence. It was not until Haydn wrote another E flat Symphony, the "Drum Roll", that he allowed the clarinets so much freedom. Probably they were unexceptional players in London and their instruments rather crude, not nearly reaching the advanced level that we find even in the orchestral scores of Mozart's operas for the Viennese court theatres.

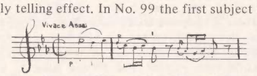
That Haydn appreciated the sustaining quality of the clarinet in its bottom register is shown by the opening of Symphony No. 99, where the second clarinet holds down low E flat (a sixth below middle C) as a pedal point under the rest of the orchestra, the bassoons rising above it as the *piano* enters.

During the 1791-2 season, Haydn had composed no symphonies in E flat, and he had never composed an E flat symphony with a large orchestra, that is with two flutes (rather than one) and with trumpets and kettledrums as well as clarinets. Compared even to the late-period Symphonies Nos. 84 (1786) and 91 (1788), No. 99 sounds immensely richer. E flat was always a favourite key of the Viennese classical style. In it, wind instruments take on a peculiarly satisfactory sonority, and even the trumpets, despite their high *tessitura*, blend excellently with the rest of the wind choir. Haydn here writes for the timpani in real sounding notation, and with a signature containing two flats; in the late-period B flat works with timpani, he uses a signature with one flat – a great innovation, this, because the timpani were usually written in transposing notation (C-G), as in Mozart's Symphony in E flat K. 543. In the two final E flat Symphonies of the second London series, Nos. 99 and 103, Haydn left to posterity the first symphonic works of the Viennese classical masters using that key with the full orchestra of the time. In this respect, too, they created a profound impression on Continental symphonic thought.

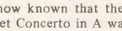
The slow introductions of the second Salomon set are miniature masterpieces. If they cannot be said to grow in size, they seem to grow in scope; they remain introductions but they manage to create for themselves an atmosphere all their own. In No. 104 there is even a complete, though miniature, ternary form. Here in No. 99, there are two distinct elements which, despite the *Adagio's* seemingly self-contained little form, look forward to the rest of the movement and to the rest of the Symphony. One is the curious thematic relationship with the main subject of the slow movement:

Here Haydn seems to be experimenting along the lines of what would later be known as the twelve-note technique, treating "rows" of notes as if they could be interchanged at will. To facilitate the reader's ability to see this interrelationship, we have transposed the *Urlinie* of the introduction into G major (placed in parentheses) next to that of the *Adagio*. The subtle relationship between the two melodic elements is further enhanced by the dotted rhythm which appears in both instances. Apart from this link to the slow movement's melody, we may note the modulation, *via* an enharmonic change from C flat to B natural and the incredible key of E minor, to the third-related key of C (in this case minor). The introduction seems to be leading permanently to C minor rather than E flat, and the dominant of C is stressed for four bars ending in a unison half-cadence wherein the note G is placed in a prominent light. This double stress of the principal third-related keys in E flat – C and G – looks forward to (1) the key of the slow movement in G major and (2) the key of the Trio in C major, which in turn is again brought to our vivid attention in a striking modulation to C major in the middle of the slow movement (bars 40 *et seq.* which we shall analyse later for other reasons). Haydn extricates himself suavely from his trend to C in the introduction by a long-held woodwind and horn chord on the dominant seventh of E flat, a reminder of the sonorous qualities of the solo wind choir in E flat on the one hand and, once again, a presage of the incredible wind band solo in the slow movement. In this introduction, however, all these hints about the future are done with great subtlety and are as nebulous (and as real) as the beginning of *Rheingold:* but in retrospect, it is "all there".

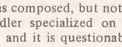
We noted, in the final Symphony of the 1792 season (No. 97), the fact that the second, third and final movements used subjects with upbeats to counteract the strong on-the-beat character of the first movement's main subject. The same delicate balance may now be observed in the organization of the first and second subjects of all those Symphonies in the second London set that begin with a movement in four-four or barred C; those beginning in six-eight time (Nos. 101 and 103) raise different problems which will be discussed later. Nos. 99, 100 and 104 all begin with squarely on-the-beat main subjects and all three have second subjects beginning on the fourth (or up-) beat. To accentuate the second subject's arrival in Nos. 99 and 100, Haydn begins with the accompaniment, as the Viennese waltz was to do countless times and with equally telling effect. In No. 99 the first subject begins:



and continues with a *tutti* in which Haydn's new and broad orchestral layout may be observed, even to a divided cello and bass part and a bassoon part independent of it. The horns and trumpets also have separate parts and altogether the score gives the impression of great attention to orchestral detail throughout. Haydn begins to break the four-four squareness of the theme even in the bridge passage. How he does it is typical. The first impetus is given by the timpani, which have at bar 33



the *fz* obviously (since no one else has it) to draw attention to itself. Immediately this new dotted rhythm is taken up by the other instruments at the interval of every two bars, while a new pattern emerges, viz.:



which alternates with the dotted rhythm quoted above. Consequently there is all during the long transition to the second subject a variety of rhythm which begins even at this early stage to act as a foil to the first subject, which keeps appearing either in fragments or in motivic derivatives. Such a melodic derivative even ushers in the second subject, where we note Haydn's new accent (>), taking the place of *fz*, now reserved for stronger effects. The delicate balance between the first and second subjects is maintained in the middle of the movement by the fact that once the development gets under way – after four bars based on the first subject's opening two bars – the first subject is never quoted directly until the recapitulation, and then without its *piano* beginning. In the coda, which is yet once more based on the irresistible second subject, the horns are used with great ingenuity. Horn II is used in the bottom register to accompany the second subject, using the stopped note sounding A flat (which means that this Continental technique, produced by inserting the right hand into the bell of the instrument to lower – in this case – the natural note B flat, had reached England by the 1790s). In the next *tutti* the first horn soars UP to sounding E flat[2], a sure way to increase orchestral tension (and it creates a quite different "inner" tension than if the same effect is given to the trumpet, as every student of Wagner's scores knows). Notice the sudden *ff* (bar 187) with which the first horn's high note coincides; like most *ff* markings in Haydn, they apply for a *limited* space of time, in this case about four bars (and a crotchet of a fifth). Still one more horn trick appears just before the end: the "walking" octaves that Haydn had already made famous in the Finale of the "Oxford" Symphony. Here (bars 191 *ff.*) they are given to second horn, as was the tradition, but also doubled by bassoon I; and this pattern is used to accompany the final reference to the first subject, which had been almost submerged after its brief reappearance in the recapitulation.

The *Adagio*, in the mediant (G major), is certainly one of the greatest slow movements Haydn ever composed. It is filled with an extraordinary wealth of detail and is also one of the most beautiful sounding adagios in all his late symphonies. The most striking thing in the first section, apart from the sheer beauty of the opening theme, is the big wind band solo that arises out of the establishment of the dominant key. It was carefully prepared beforehand, since the second part of the main subject was given to the solo woodwind. The wind band, in this case, consists of a solo flute, two oboes and two bassoons (later only one); the clarinets in C are used mostly to double the melody of the violins or for sustaining notes, but never alone. Clarinets in C were (and are, in so far as they are used at all, as in the occasional French provincial band) military instruments and their tone is rather strident; Haydn is thus careful to keep them in the background in a movement which, unlike No. 100's *Allegretto*, is not at all of a military but rather a songfully lyric character. We have noted in the Chronicle that the Press singled out this woodwind passage for special comment, and it must have made a profound impression not only on the London public but also all over the Continent (where many provincial orchestras will have experienced the same difficulty in playing it that we know was also the case when Mozart's operas began to circulate in the smaller towns of German-speaking Europe). The movement is in sonata form, and quite regularly constructed with another lyrical subject which is introduced after the famous wind band solo. There is then a double bar and the first section is to be repeated; it is an essential repeat, too, if the large second part, without repeats, is to appear in its correct proportion. There are 34 bars of the first part and 64 of the second, or very nearly double the length.

Haydn has scored the movement up to now for flutes, oboes, clarinets, bassoons, horns and strings. The trumpets and timpani are silent. But now Haydn introduces a gigantic orchestral surprise (which, typically, coincides with a harmonic turn that he wished to stress: the introduction of C major, which was mentioned above, in connection with the beginning of the Symphony). The second part starts for strings only, continuing a thought from the second subject's conclusion. A large orchestral *crescendo* coincides with a slow, measure-for-measure modulation into C major, and when Haydn reaches a point where it is harmonically feasible, to wit bar 40, he marks the whole orchestra *ff* and the timpani enter, also *ff*, with stupendous effect. (The general *ff* does not extend, in a stroke of Mahlerian subtlety, to the horns and trumpets, which are "filling" and are not supposed to drown out the other wind instruments; the timpani's *ff* is a theatrical effect, of course.) The entrance of the trumpets and timpani is obviously a grandiose gesture, and it is also primarily one of colour. The timpani are tuned in C and G, and the trumpets are in C, which means that without any question their entrance, and tuning, were designed for this particular moment, though Haydn very cleverly uses both instruments later in the movement despite their unnatural tuning: unnatural, actually, only for the timpani since the trumpets would not have been in G (see our comments about the "Surprise" Symphony's first version, *supra*). It is a measure of Haydn's incredible skill that we hardly notice at the end of the movement that the drums are in the tonic and *sub*dominant. He also manages to create a very sinister effect later in the movement by having the horns and trumpets batter out a jarring accompaniment in seconds. The texture of Haydn's fabric has become very closely woven by this time: the frightened "jumping" bass line comes from the bass line at the very close of the exposition (bar 33). It was, after all, a Symphony in Time of War . . .

Haydn's symphonic minuets become steadily more sophisticated in 1793-5. After experimenting with speeding up the dance form in the Symphonies of the 1792 season (Nos. 93, 94, 98), Haydn now returns to the slower *Allegretto* tempo for the works of the 1794 season, even going as far as *Moderato* in No. 100 (where the tempo has other considerations, however, which will be examined *infra*). Slowing up the tempo in this fashion allows Haydn to be massively symphonic on the one hand – quite the opposite of the light, fleeting one-in-a-bar scherzos of Beethoven's Symphonies Nos. 1 and 2 – while on the other he can easily slip into the kind of *Ländler* that we find towards the end of the first part of No. 99's *Menuet*. Here we find the basses pushing out a *forzato* at the beginning of every bar, just as in today's Tyrolean dance band, while part of the wind band indulges in the rhythm that the *Ländler* was to bequeath to the waltz. To break this tap-room beat, Haydn uses *inter alia* the trumpets and timpani; the timpani hit the first crotchet and then move into a kind of semiquaver roll for four bars, while the trumpets have a pattern extending over two bars, The whole section is a study in Haydn's method of adepting Austrian dance rhythms for (as it were) the international concert public, something in which Johann Strauss was also to become a great expert. This passage does not return again: it is an effect that Haydn considered should be used only once. The second part of the minuet form has now become a kind of development-*cum*-recapitulation in sonata form style, but of course on a very limited scale; here, fragments of the minuet's main theme are used to modulate through G flat major (never reached in its root position) and G minor to the "recapitulation". The restatement is no simple *da capo* any longer but continues the development, just as in Haydn's own larger movements in sonata form. The wind section is used differently, and this time the horns have their own accompaniment, the first horn rising to sounding G[2].

The Trio is introduced by a little oboe flourish on the note G, a pivot from E flat to C major, in which latter key the Trio is written. It is a melancholy little dance, for oboe solo (later with bassoon solo) and strings, *legato* and singing (the oboe is marked *cantabile*). There is a long lead-back to the *Menuet* (with some pretty clarinet writing) in which Haydn gradually shifts the phrasing and accents from the Trio's rhythm to that of the *Menuet*.

As a piece of music, the Finale is as typical of Haydn's late-period finales as anything in the last dozen symphonies. Cast in the usual sonata-rondo form (*i.e.* returning to the tonic before the development starts), it has two subjects, both full of mirth and wit. The second is based upon the first in a vague way, much as Haydn's slow introductions offer us the cloudy contours of themes and patterns to come. The subsidiary theme includes solo passages for all the woodwind and also the horns. In the recapitulation even the second horn has a solo, which reminds us once again that all the great masters of the Viennese classical school, even Beethoven, were fond of writing solo sections for the stepchildren of the orchestra: thus, Mozart for the second trumpet in one of the trios of the "Haffner" Serenade K. 250 or Beethoven for the posthorn in the delightful 1795 Dances for the Redoutensaal (or indeed the fourth horn in the Ninth Symphony's slow movement). In the development we are treated to a closely worked contrapuntal display of the first theme, the beginning even *in stretto* at the interval of one bar and the end combining the theme *recte* and in inversion. In the middle of the recapitulation there is a series of *fermate* and the main subject is treated

to a mock-serious excursion, a pseudo-sentimental journey which actually slows down to *adagio* (bar 187). The same thing had happened in Symphony No. 97's *Finale*, where the effect was perhaps more on mock-heroic lines; but here, like everything else in the movement including the vigorous contrapuntal treatment in the development, the result is a grand parody. As all these effects whirl past us, we are scarcely aware of the terrific concentration and expert craftsmanship that enabled this *Vivace* to sound as light as it does. As in all such quick Haydn finales, the movement is put together with great structural economy, so that there is not one bar too many.

Symphony No. 100 in G ("Military") (1794)

We may suspect that such a work as the "Surprise" Symphony was written, as it were, round the famous slow movement; with No. 100 we know this to have been the case. And not only that: Haydn composed, or in the case of the slow movement rewrote, the middle movements before he started the outer parts of the Symphony. He began with the *Allegretto*, which from bars 1-148 and 151-2 (up to the trumpet solo) comes from Concerto No. 3 (VIIh:3) in G for the King of Naples, second movement, marked "Romance: Allegretto". It is scored for the two lire parts, accompanied by two violins, two violas, and bass line. The Concerto was first published in 1932 by Edition Adler in Berlin, edited by Karl Geiringer, and again in 1959, directly from the authentic score in the Esterházy Archives, by the present writer (Diletto Musicale 43, Doblinger). The latter edition is in print and may be consulted for a detailed comparison with the "Military" slow movement. We shall examine some of the changes Haydn made *infra*. The autograph of the second movement has not survived with that to the rest of the Symphony (Esterházy Archives), possibly because there was none in the strict sense. It may be that Haydn had Elssler copy the score of the Concerto's *Romance* on large-sized paper and made the necessary changes on the copy. In any case, the original manuscript, whatever it was, of the famous "Military Movement" has disappeared; having been the most celebrated piece of music Haydn wrote during the second London sojourn, he may have left it in England as a keepsake.

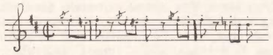
The first of the other movements that Haydn composed was the *Menuet*. At least the autograph is written on Italian paper such as Haydn used in Vienna in 1793, while the first and last movements are on British paper. Having almost a quick piece – the tempo is *Allegretto* – with all sorts of extra effects (Turkish music, clarinets, trumpet solo, and so on) as his "slow movement", Haydn took care to write a slow *Menuet (Moderato)* so that in a certain sense the two middle movements could act together as a block round which he could fashion the first and last sections. A very quick minuet such as that in the "Surprise" (*Allegro molto*) or even one of the *Allegro* minuets in the other works of 1791-5 would have meant that there was hardly any "slow" music at all; thus, the deliberate slow tempo and the accent on the quavers rather than the crochets such as was the case with No. 99. In No. 100 we have, then, a case of Haydn's deliberately focussing attention on the "Military Movement" not only by the more obvious means which we shall discuss shortly but also in the organization of the other movements. By now, he was a supreme master of the popular style; in No. 100 he created his greatest triumph, at least as far as the European public of the day was concerned. Although it was later to be rivalled by the "Surprise", until 1805 or thereabouts the "Military" was the most popular symphony ever composed. Before 1803 it was published in parts by (in alphabetical order) André (two editions, the first in 1799) in Offenbach/Main, Artaria of Vienna, Gombart of Augsburg, Hummel of Berlin and Amsterdam, Imbault of Paris, Monzani & Comador in London (using André's plates), Pleyel in Paris, Sieber in Paris and in numerous arrangements all over Europe. It was the example *par excellence* of a composition being totally integrated in the society that first heard it; perhaps it was the last time in musical history when the public completely understood and appreciated great music at its first performance. From Beethoven to Stockhausen and from Schubert to Berio, the fatal gap has always since existed.

Haydn's introduction (*Adagio*) is once again attached to the rest of the Symphony by various thematic associations. The first is the delicate relation between the introduction's opening "theme" and the *Allegro's* first subject. It will be seen that the introduction's melody rises from D^2 to G^2 and back to D^2, and that we then have the interval A^1 B^1 twice:

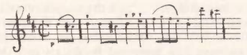
The next point of connection is the large and ominous *crescendo* that begins in G minor at bar 14 and continues to the *ff* in bar 16, bringing in the whole orchestra with a timpani roll. The strings then lapse into *p* and another *crescendo* begins at bar 18. This double *crescendo*, either directly in the minor key or in a modulation leading to a minor key, is distinctly freighted with a heavy sense of foreboding. The same pattern, much extended, appears at the beginning of the development section: a double *crescendo* (bars 137-8, 150-1) in and leading to the minor in both cases, with the same underlying feeling of foreboding. Finally, there is a sharply (in some cases double) dotted, French Overture rhythm that grows more insistent as the Introduction unfolds; it reappears throughout the Trio.

The first subject of the *Allegro*, which we have quoted above when it reappears in the strings, is first given only to solo flute and two oboes; it is a fascinating sound, looking forward to the "toy" music of Rimsky-Korsakov and the ballet music of Tchaikovsky. The scoring, or rather the layout, of the first *tutti* shows how much Salomon's great orchestra has influenced Haydn the composer: solid middle parts in slow motion (horns, trumpets, viola); the second violins in a "broken" pattern of quavers which then unobtrusively slide into a slower motion, doubling the first oboe and strengthening its interesting countersubject; the cello pounding out the bass line in "walking" octaves and the bass itself providing an impetus to each first beat by dropping an octave. It is symphonic scoring which sounds brilliant and uses the whole orchestra to every instrument's individual advantage.

The second subject has been likened to the "Radetzky March" by Johann Strauss the Elder, composed in the aftermath of the Viennese revolution of March 1848. Even writers who did not sense the relationship noted, as did H.E. Jacob in his book on the Strauss family, that the "[Radetzky March] has something familiar about it." Our idea of military music is, as anyone who has examined Haydn's marches knows, quite different from that of the late eighteenth century as well as the period up to 1848 known to Austrian history as the *Vormärz* "(pre-March"). But if Strauss sounded military with



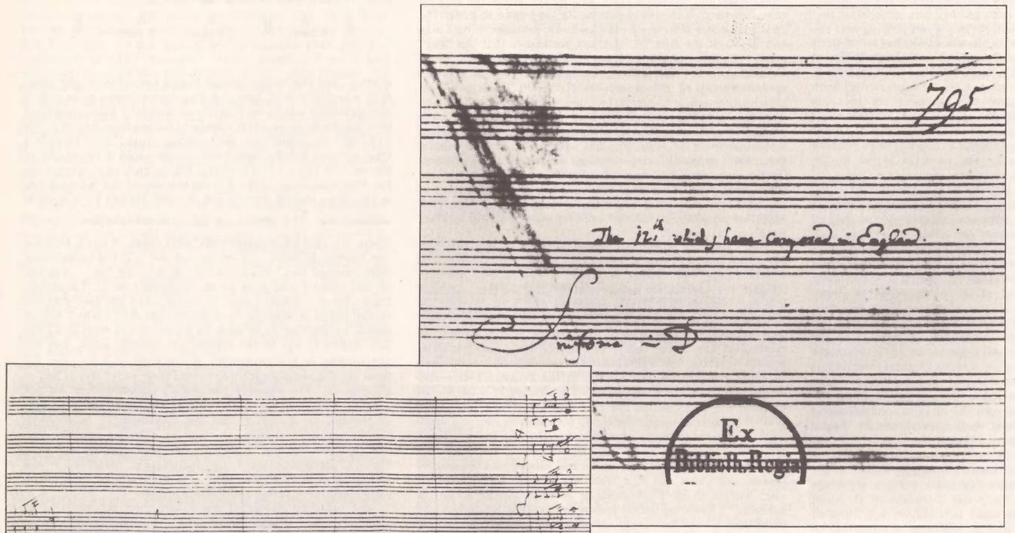
perhaps Haydn's theme

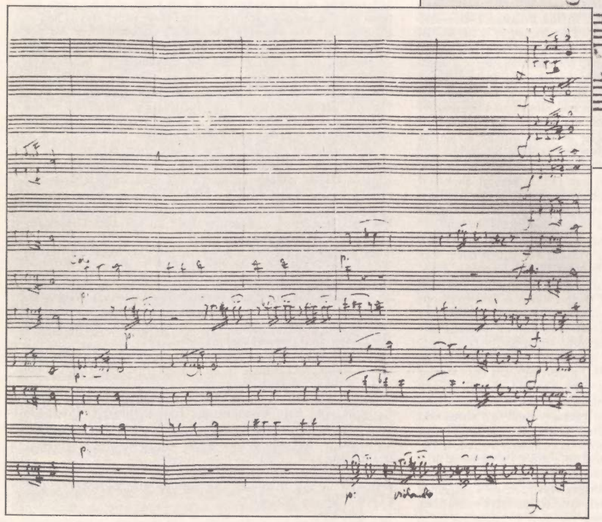


sounded military to the public of 1794 *et seq.* At any rate, it certainly sounded like a popular tune, and it was introduced, like the second subject of No. 99/I, with a taproom accompaniment over a *pizzicato* bass. Of course Strauss was deliberately quoting Haydn: the time (barred C) and the key, D major (because in the Haydn we are now in the dominant) is the same, and besides, No. 100 was still a very popular Symphony in *Vormärz* Vienna. But perhaps both Haydn and Strauss were not writing military music at all. In those days of revolution in 1848, Haydn's music sounded to many like a lost paradise. Franz Gernerth wrote: "Just after the three days in March I played several Haydn symphonies on the piano with a friend, and I cannot describe what a sorrowful *[wehmütigen]* feeling these magnificent masterpieces made on me. Their message sounded to me like a paradise of freedom in this time of oppression . . ." Can Johann Strauss, Father, have been quoting Haydn in this sense rather than linking a "Military Symphony" with a military man (*i.e.* Radetzky)?

That Haydn intended something curiously ambivalent with his "Radetzky" subject is made abundantly clear in the development section: ambivalent in two senses. First, because the innocent-sounding theme immediately begins to take on the ominous character of the *crescendo* in the introduction, and secondly, because all the modulations and *crescendi* lead to quite different tonal goals than the music first allows us to believe. Notice another link to the introduction, namely that a timpani roll accompanies the climax of each of the two modulations, just as the drums underlined the first of all these threatening *crescendi*. The tonal ambivalence takes place as follows. The exposition ends in D and after two full bars of silence (and three beats of another bar as well), the second theme begins in B flat but soon starts to establish C minor. Here the first *crescendo* begins. At its climax, with a kettledrum roll, the music shifts suddenly away from C minor into D minor, but all through this series of modulations there are almost no chords in a root position so that each key that Haydn establishes seems uncertain and even menaced by the next modulation. The momentum starts again, *piano*, in D minor (though still not in root position), and the same *crescendo* is repeated a note higher, with the same climax, timpani roll and sudden change towards E minor, the arrival of which is procrastinated by seventeen bars. It is not until Haydn settles into E minor that we begin to sense its relative major, and our tonic, round the corner. The recapitulation is chopped short to such an extent that we are suspicious: the exposition ran for 100 bars, of which the last 17 bars were "closing material", or the final *tutti*, while the recapitulation runs – first and second subject, with all the truncated bridge passages – to 37 bars. What Haydn is doing is to prepare for the biggest and most flamboyant coda of his symphonic *oeuvre* hitherto. This spectacular conclusion starts out its promising course by jumping without preparation into E flat, the flattened submediant. This, too, was foretold at the beginning of the development, where Haydn moved from D to its flattened submediant and gave us a large grand pause to help us remember the effect. In these fifty bars we are treated to a display of orchestral fireworks unprecedented in Haydn's career. We are even given the intoxicating sound of the violins racing away in quavers with only the sound of horns, trumpets and kettledrums hammering out tonic and dominant chords behind them (bars 256-8 with lead-in and lead-out). It is one of the first times that a symphony orchestra was used as a pure, virtuoso instrument and as such it presages many such pages in the nineteenth century; but through it all we are constantly aware of previous thematic fragments and derivatives. It is virtuosity on a magnificent scale, but never empty virtuosity.

Once Haydn saved the trumpets and drums until the slow movement of a symphony (it was No. 88, 1787); their entrance must have electrified musicians all over Europe. In No. 99 we have seen a similar instance of withholding these instruments until the middle of the second movement. In No. 100. Haydn does an equally unprecedented orchestral trick, or rather a double trick. In the first place he introduces two clarinets in C, which play only in the *Allegretto*. In the second, he has arranged a battery of "Turkish" instruments such as were used by Austrian composers in exotic operas with Turkish subjects; this percussion group enters the fray together with the trumpets and kettledrums when the music turns from C major to C minor at bar 57. There are two sets of percussion parts: (1) those contained in the authentic set of MS. parts by Johann Elssler in the Esterházy Archives, a source which is textually very close to the Birchall print; the reader is referred to the notes in Vol. XII of the Philharmonia Complete Haydn Symphonies for further details. Since these percussion parts are indubitably genuine, we have included





Symphony No. 104 in D, "London"

These are the first three pages of the autograph manuscript, including the title page where Haydn writes as a subtitle.... "The twelfth I have composed in England." Preussiche, Staatsbibliothek, Berlin.

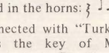
them, and only them in the new critical edition. On the Elssler title page, a "Tambourine" is mentioned but there is no part for it in the MS.. Perhaps it improvised a part reading over the shoulder of one of the percussion players. Elssler has actual parts for triangle, cymbals and bass drum. (2) The textually different parts contained in the earliest André and other German, French and Austrian prints. The interested reader may consult both percussion parts, Elssler's and the Germans', in the new edition of *Joseph Haydn Werke* (Henle Verlag, "Londoner Sinfonien, 3. Folge"). Since no concrete evidence as to the authenticity of *any* of these German prints has been brought forward, we believe that only the parts as found in the Elssler MS. have a claim to complete genuineness. Since the percussion parts were often left out of MS. and printed copies of the work, we wonder if those of the German prints are not "improvised" by someone who remembered where they all entered but could not remember the actual "notes" (if such can describe percussion parts). Unfortunately our only autograph of this second movement, as a March for wind band and "tamburo", does not help us in solving this particular problem. For a clever piece of arranging, however, music lovers should not miss this March, which was first published in the afore-mentioned Henle edition.

Haydn completely reorchestrated the "Romance" of the Concerto, dropping the title as he did so. In 1786, when the Concerto was composed, Haydn was much interested in the *Romance,* using an old French song, "La gentille et jeune Lisette" as the basis for the *Romance* in the Symphony No. 85 ("La Reine") composed about 1785 or 1786 for Le Concert de la Loge Olympique in Paris. Both movements are themes and variations on the melody, and that of the Concerto for the King of Naples also sounds like a French folk-song. In 1785, Mozart and Haydn were particularly intimate, and it is not surprising to find the younger composer using a *Romanze* as the slow movement of the piano Concerto in D minor K. 466, first performed the night that Haydn was initiated into the Freemasons. The simple, folk-song construction of the typical Romance's theme is also found in Beethoven's two beautiful Romances for violin and orchestra (1798).

Not only did Haydn reorchestrate the *Romance,* he also had to compose new inner parts as he did so. Perhaps the most striking alteration concerns the endings of the individual sections in the Concerto. Haydn originally had three crotchet rests of silence in such places (bars 8, 16, 36, 56, *etc.*) which are in the "Military" version deftly filled – so deftly, in fact, that the earlier version sounds empty once we have assimilated the later one into our unconscious minds. Who can imagine

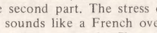
after having heard the later version?

There is no doubt that the "Military" text is vastly smoother and more poised "at the joints"; even where the original had something to connect two sections, such as the minim at bar 44, Haydn later added a rhythmic lead in the horns:

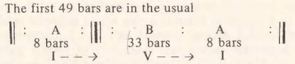


The use of C major is also connected with "Turkish" or "Janissary" instruments: it was the key of Mozart's *Entführung* where there are also C clarinets. For Haydn, this almost chamber-musical use of the wind instruments (before the "Turkish" instruments enter) also reminded him of another set of works for the King of Naples, namely the Notturni, which in their original orchestration had many of the elements found in the second movement of No. 100: 2 lire, 2 clarinets in C and divided violas (the lira parts would be divided up, in a reorchestration, between flute and oboe). Once the original sound of these solo wind instruments has begun to penetrate, and this occurs after their extensive solo sections in bars 1-16 and 36-56 of the first "A" section, we realize that the "toy" music of the opening *Allegro,* for solo flute and oboes unaccompanied, was nothing but another one of Haydn's announcements of things-to-come. It might be noted how utterly different is the effect of the solo wind band here – martial, witty, light-footed and even rather exotic-sounding – compared with the romantic, *legato* wind band solo in the solo movement of No. 99. The *Allegretto* thus continues the "toy" music of the opening *Allegro,* leading us even further into some "Sleeping Beauty" world of unreality and marmalade skies. This great emphasis on the wind section of the orchestra was what undoubtedly suggested to Haydn to make an arrangement of this popular movement for military band and "tamburo".

The Concerto movement ended at bar 152 but two bars have been added (146 and 147) in the symphonic version. The solo trumpet call, which is given to the second trumpet (though the sources are not absolutely clear on this point and it is just possible that Haydn meant "a due"), has a curiously sinister sound by being so low. The fanfare seems to have been well known. Whether it was Austrian or British cannot be established any more, but it was clearly an "Allied" fanfare. Arnold Schering, the well-known German scholar, maintained that the fanfare was still known to the Prussian (=German) cavalry in 1939 as "Paradepost". The drum roll is known to us from the *crescendi* in the first movement and becomes a symbol of unrest, uneasiness, fear. We shall encounter it again as it is presented here: solo. The unexpected use of A flat major to follow this drum roll on the note C also increases the feeling of anxiety: this is the real climax of the trumpet fanfare and drum roll – a "false resolution" like the art of war. Audiences of 1794 shivered at this "climax of horrid sublimity". Even the actual ending is preceded by ambivalent harmonies – A flat keeps entering the resolution into C major (bar 179 in the bassoon, bar 181 in second oboe and bassoon): the parallel was obvious to everyone in the audience at Hanover Square Rooms that March night in 1794 when "shouts of applause" greeted the conclusion of the *Allegretto.*

The construction of the *Menuet* is unusual, first because of its slow tempo *(Moderato),* the reasons for which have been discussed above, and secondly because the first section is not repeated and ends in the tonic. Actually this "A" section consists in itself of an eight-bar theme which is first given out *forte* and then *piano,* with different inner parts, different articulation (bar 3 quavers *staccati* and bar 11 slurred) and different orchestration. This places the stress on the (repeated) second section, and a very symphonic treatment of the material. It is more like a sonata-form development than almost any of the other minuets of the 1791-2 season, though we can see the trend in many of the previous works. It was, however, not carried this far. The quaver passage which we noted was phrased differently when repeated in the "A" section is now used as a counterpoint in the bottom and inner voices. If the *Menuet* is serious, the Trio sounds once more an alarming note in the second part. The stress on the dotted rhythm that so much sounds like a French overture was perhaps a reference to the enemy across the Channel; no one can have missed the martial undercurrent to the  rhythm or the reference to G minor.

If we judge the middle movements of No. 100 as an entity, and the sources to allow that, the *Finale* must occupy a position of special importance. Not only does it restore the fast tempo of the opening barred-C *Allegro* – for, as we have seen, the two middle movements are moderately quick but never slow – but it is the longest final quick movement in any Haydn symphony to date except for No. 98, which is even longer: we say "quick movement" because earlier works with slow sections such as No. 45 or 67 do not fall into this particular category. No. 100's *Presto* is also on a huge formal scale. The first 49 bars are in the usual



scheme, and the bridge-passage begins thereafter in the tonic. It is a sonata rondo, then, on an unprecedented scale, with a very extended middle section (if one wishes to lump everything that Haydn does into this category) lasting from bar 50 to bar 218 (the recapitulation, with upbeat from 217). There is a final and particularly "shocking" timpani solo in the middle of this section (bars 122-3), after a big cadence in D major. Like the first movement of No. 45, the second subject is introduced in this huge middle section and is characterized by a series of *acciaccature* The timpani solo ushers in the development, where we find an exceptionally wide range of keys, even for late Haydn: D major – F major – A flat – D flat (enharmonically changed to C sharp minor) – E major (F flat) – E minor (F flat minor) and back to the dominant of G. The strong third-related tendency will be noted, also the fact that the recapitulation is actually in A double-flat major which Haydn avoids by shifting from flats to sharps in the middle. At bar 265 Haydn brings in the Turkish instruments again; they are not marked in the autograph, where there was no room for them on the already crowded twelve-stave paper Haydn had at his disposal. The *Morning Chronicle's* correspondent did not approve of the cymbals (by which he meant all the extra percussion, no doubt) in this last movement (5 May 1794). Haydn obviously thought it made an effective conclusion to this extroverted but brilliantly planned Symphony. (The *Finale's* percussion parts are, fortunately, preserved in the Elssler parts at Budapest, also in slightly altered form in the early German, Austrian and French prints.)

The principal theme of the *Finale* soon proved to be as popular as the "Military Movement". It is apparently a case in which a Haydn melody became a folk-tune, known, variously, *as* LORD CATHCART'S WELCOME in *Treasures of Terpsichore* . . . being a Collection of all the most popular Country Dances . . . together with all the new Dances for 1809. By T. Wilson, London, 1809.

as LORD CATHCART'S WELCOME TO SCOTTLAND in *Wheatstone's Selection* of Elegant and Fashionable Country Dances, Reels, Waltzs *[sic], etc.* for the Ensuing Season, with an Accompt. for the Piano Forte or Harp by Augs. Voigt, *etc.* Sold by C. Mitchell, at his Musical Circulating Library and Instrument Ware rooms, 51, Southampton Row, Russel *[sic]* Sque. (*n.d.,* but between 1808-1814).

as LORD CATHCART in a manuscript book of country dance tunes, *etc.* which is not earlier than the first decade or so of the nineteenth century.

Lord Cathcart is presumably Sir William Shaw, tenth Baron Cathcart, and first Viscount and Earl Cathcart (1755-1843) who after a distinguished military career was created Viscount Cathcart in 1807 and appointed C. in C. Scotland presumably in the same year.

No. 100 was one of the first Haydn symphonies to be reviewed in the then new *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* (April 1799, pp. 422-4):

RECENSION
Grande Simphonie à plusieurs Instruments, composée par J. Haydn.
Oeuvre 9. Augsbourg chez Gombart et Comp. (Prix 3 Fl.)

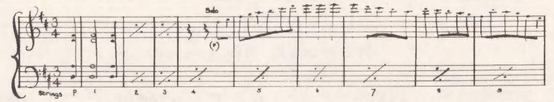
The fashion in which *J. Haydn* composed symphonies is as well known and well appreciated as almost anything in the musical world. It would be therefore quite unnecessary to say anything further about this Symphony, composed in London by the great master, except that it is one of the finest he has written. It is somewhat less learned, and easier to take in, than some of the other newest works by him, but it is just as rich in new ideas as they. The effect of surprise cannot perhaps be pushed further than it is here, when in the second movement we are utterly surprised by the full Janissary music in the minore – up to that point, one had no idea that these Turkish instruments were part of the Symphony's scoring. But here, too, we see not only the inventive but also the prudent artist. The Andante *[recte: Allegretto]* is in fact conceived as a whole: for despite all the pleasantness and lightness with which the composer in the first part attempts to distract attention from the coming coup, it is laid out and worked out like a march. That at least should be a hint to imitators, who no doubt are at this very moment planning to shower us with symphonies with Turkish music . . . [There then follows a list of appalling printer's errors, "not even mentioning many a smaller error".]

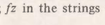
Symphony No. 101 in D ("The Clock") (1794)

This is the third of four D major Salomon Symphonies. There are many obvious advantages to the key, not least its sonority for the strings where the empty strings are useful in chords, but also its fine effect for the brass and timpani. A large part of Professor Jan LaRue's thematic catalogue of all eighteenth century symphonies is in D major, and two of Mozart's last six symphonies (K. 385, 504) are in that key. It was very much a "public" key in the eighteenth century, though not so much in Austria (where big Church Masses, festive symphonies and "Applausus" cantatas tended to be in C major) as in Germany and Italy.

Symphony No. 98 had opened with a slow introduction in the tonic minor, and Haydn now repeats the idea in No. 101 and later in No. 104. The mysterious, portentous D minor opening is unique in Haydn's symphonies hitherto: it is orchestrated in "grey" tones, too – no clarinets, no brass and timpani. Thematic illusions to the *Presto* are as clouded as the mists that seem to surround the introduction. The slowly rising scale at the beginning might seem to be the ghostly predecessor of the *Presto's* first theme.

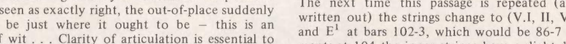
Six-eight is a most unusual tempo for an opening movement. Haydn had tried the effect in Symphony No. 67 in F, a work of great originality and daring which also has a *Finale* with a large slow insert. Six-eight was, in the 1760s, rather a Finale tempo (as in Haydn's Symphony No. 16) and became in the 1780s an equally successful conclusion on a larger scale, such as Mozart's "hunting" rondos (in the horn concertos or the piano Concerto in E flat K. 482) which were, in turn, based on Haydn's "La Chasse" *Finale* of Symphony No. 73 (published at Vienna in July 1782). Mozart, perhaps as a compliment to the older man, wrote the first movement of the B flat "Hunt" Quartet (K. 458), one of the six dedicated to Haydn, in six-eight. In No. 101's opening *Presto* we have a six-eight movement on the largest possible scale (over 300 bars, the exposition to be repeated). Haydn has of course realized the "light" metric nature of six-eight – which is why it is an ideal finale metre – and the thematic material of the movement is so light as to be almost inconsequential until we realize Haydn's broad scheme. The nature of the opening subject required the broad introduction with which Haydn provided it; only after this expanse of D minor could the anacrustic opening theme make any impression. Because of the movement's thematic frailty, he begins extending the main subject motivically, developing it, all during the very long bridge passage to the dominant. This is nothing unusual in late Haydn symphonies, but the extent and depth of this development so early in the movement shows us that Haydn is compensating for his metre by heavily symphonic treatment. The second subject is no contrast at all to the first: he makes things as difficult as possible for himself. Yet because the second subject seems to grow out of the foregoing material, there is a sense of unity throughout. The elaboration of all the motivic fragments is so fascinating and proceeds at such a dizzy pace that one soon forgets how slender is all the actual material from which this massive symphonic edifice is constructed. There are also interesting dynamic effects which serve to propel the music forward, such as two different uses of *ff.* On the one hand, Haydn uses the marking towards the end of the exposition only in the horns, trumpets and kettledrums to bring them



into the foreground and thus infuse the already rich and agile score with a sudden blaze of colour. Another use of *ff* is to lash out at a bold modulation, such as occurs at bar 190 in the middle of the development section; again, we must remember that *ff* in Haydn's scores are of short duration (as can be seen by the fact that he is able to use *fz* for the wind parts in the same bar; *fz* in the strings would, however, have meant  to most players, whereas *ff* meant a louder [loudest] level throughout all six notes). The *ff* leads, as it were, to the entrance of the clarinets, horns, trumpets and timpani, which have been silent for half-a-dozen bars and add one further wave of sound to the *ff (fz)* climax. The passage is remarkable for the attention to orchestral detail which characterizes this robust, vigorous yet delicately balanced *Presto.*

The second movement, *Andante,* has given the Symphony its name, "The Clock". Considering that it is one of Haydn's most played works, surprisingly few people have gone to the trouble of investigating either the Symphony as a whole or even the form of the *Andante.* In 1798, the Viennese publisher Johann Traeg issued the movement in a piano arrangement entitled "Rondo . . . Die Uhr". Rondo is in fact the nearest description of this new and fascinating hybrid form that Haydn has created for this *Andante.* On paper it looks like a typical Haydn finale, for example that of Symphony No. 96: the same A-B-A opening section followed by a big "minore" ("C") and a return to the "A" section. But whereas in a typical finale the return to the "A" section is fairly regular, here the presentation of "A" following the "minore" is radically different. It is actually so different that Geiringer (1947, 290) describes the movement as a "mixture of variation and rondo". This is particularly true of what happens after the "minore": the "A" section is given with a completely different orchestration (theme in the first violins, the accompaniment so laid out that it straddles the first violin by having the "tick-tock" split up at the interval of two octaves instead of thirds). The beginning is a stroke of genius, with its clock-like accompaniment. But the variation with the straddled violin theme is even more brilliantly original. Writing about this kind of language in general, Rosen notes that "The buffoonery of Haydn, Beethoven, and Mozart is only an exaggeration of an essential quality of the classical style. This style was, in its origins, basically a comic one. I do not mean that sentiments of the deepest and most tragic emotion could not be expressed by it, but the pacing of classical rhythm is the pacing of comic opera, its phrasing is the phrasing of dance music, and its large structures are these phrases dramatized . . . If the taste for the comic in music grew in the second half of the eighteenth century, this was at least in part because the development of style had at last made a genuinely autonomous wit possible. The incongrous seen as exactly right, the out-of-place suddenly turning out to be just where it ought to be – this is an essential part of wit . . . Clarity of articulation is essential to this kind of comedy. The contrast between the melodic and accompanying parts in classical style . . . allows us the delicious moment in Haydn's *Clock* Symphony when the accompaniment is transposed into the upper register [and] where the double meaning is made even more evident by giving the figure to the solo flute and bassoon."

Tracing the formal scheme of the movement thus far we have:



There then follows a bar of silence; the main theme then begins in E flat, modulates to the tonic and a new statement of the "A" section begins which, unlike the fragmentary statement in E flat, turns out to be a complete A^1-B^1-A^1. There then follows a bar of silence; the main theme then begins in E flat, modulates to the tonic and a new statement of the "A" section begins which, unlike the fragmentary statement in E flat, turns out to be a complete A^2-B^2-A^2 with a concluding coda; this final time, the principal tripartite statement is for full orchestra (strings *ff*) the first time (A^2) and again for full orchestra the last time, but slightly differently orchestrated (higher trumpets and a new, penetrating timpani part, *inter alia*). Thus the graph is only very approximate and can give but an inadequate idea of Haydn's apparently limitless ingenuity, wit and craftsmanship. The "C" section is also a not very accurate description of an extremely powerful "minore" which is closely based on rhythmic figures already known to us; the dotted "Baroque" pattern of bar 4, the "clock" accompaniment and the demi-semiquavers of bar 3.

The *Menuet* of Symphony No. 101 is the longest of all twelve Salomon Symphonies. We are no friends of long rows of statistics, but in this particular case a list of the bar lengths of all twelve works shows two facts at once: the prodigious length of No. 101's third movement and also Haydn's incredible variety. As far as the length is concerned, No. 97 has no repeats either in the Minuet or in the Trio, and thus only Nos. 99 and 102 – both highly developed symphonic minuets – come anywhere near the scope of No. 101.

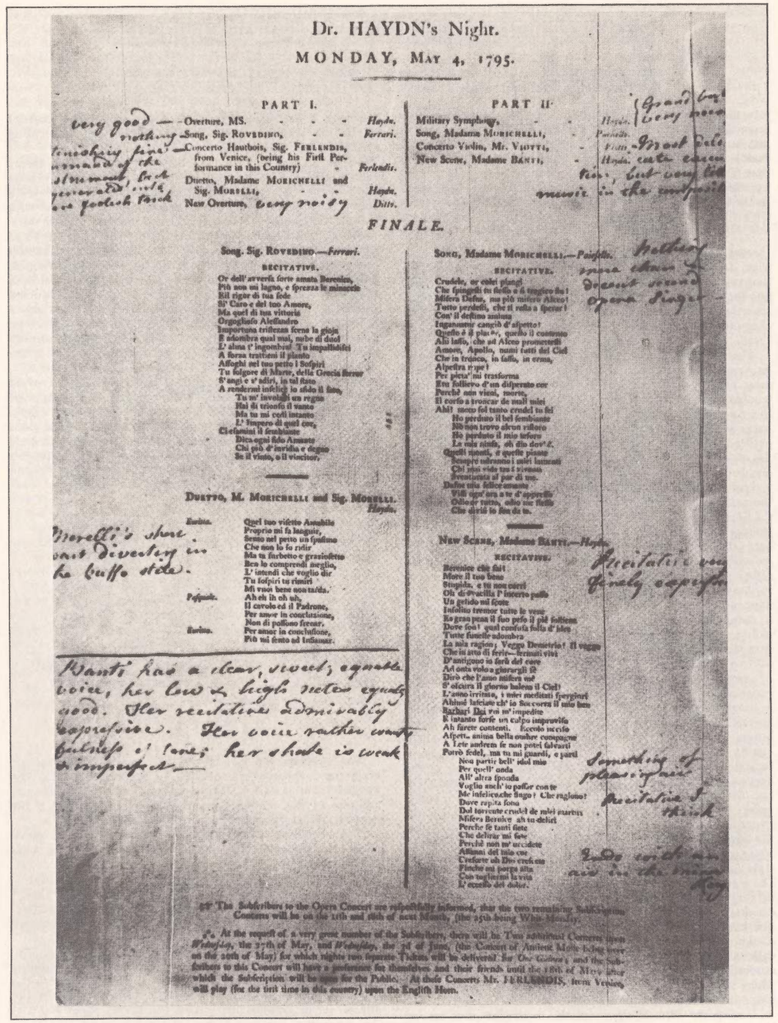
Symphony	Minuet	Trio
93	46	52
94	62	27
95	56	28
96	52	32
97 (no repeats)	68	48
98	60	41
99	68	50
100	56	24 (first part minuet: no repeat)
101	80	80 (first part trio: no repeat)
102	66	40
103	48	32
104	52	52

The richness and variety of "The Clock's" Minuet are everywhere apparent – not least in the orchestration. The divided violas at bars 4/8 (later repeated in the recapitulation) are rare in this context, and even more unexpected is the timpani solo at the beginning of the second section.

The beginning of the Trio has been the cause of much controversy among scholars and musicians. Here is what Haydn wrote: *(see above)*

The next time this passage is repeated (and the repeat is written out) the strings change to (V.I, II, Va.) G^2, C sharp^1 and E^1 at bars 102-3, which would be 86-7 in the first statement; at 104 the inner strings have a slight difference because of the previous part-writing.

Now there is no question about Haydn's intentions. The autograph is not only clear but the repeated bars are numbered over the first violin part. The dissonant version is also in the Elssler copy of the score (Esterházy Archives) and in the original set of London String parts (on British paper and with the musicians' names on the title pages – see our short catalogue, *supra*) which form part of the authentic MS. parts in the Esterházy Archives. This was also the version that Haydn sent to Donaueschingen Castle. Later, however, some-



Dr. HAYDN's Night.

MONDAY, May 4, 1795.

PART I.

Overture, MS. - - - *Haydn.*
Song, Sig. Rovedino, - - *Ferrari.*
Concerto Hautbois, Sig. Ferlendis, from Venice, (being his First Performance in this Country) - *Ferlendis.*
Duetto, Madame Moricheli and Sig. Morelli, - - *Haydn.*
New Overture, - - *Ditt.*

PART II.

Military Symphony, - - *Haydn.*
Song, Madame Moricheli, - *Pacsiello.*
Concerto Violin, Mr. Viotti, - *Viotti.*
New Scene, Madame Banti, - *Haydn.*

FINALE.

Song. Sig. Rovedino.—*Ferrari.*

RECITATIVE.

Or dell' avverfa forte amata Berenice,
Più non mi lagno, e fprezza le minaccie
Ril rigor di tua fede
Il Cielo e dal tuo Amore,
Ma quel di tua vittoria
Orgoglioso Alefandro
Importuna trifezza forza in gioja
Il adombra qual nui, nube di duol
L' alma t' impondvi. Tu impallidisci
A forza trattieni il pianto
Affoghi nel tuo petto i fofpiri
Tu fulgore di Marte, della Grecia ftrane
S' angi e s' adiri, in tal fazo
A rendermi infelici in odio il fato,
Tu m' invoglii un regno
Hai di trionfo il vanto
Ma tu mi cedi intanto
L' Impero di quel core,
Ci fermai il freddiume
Dica ogni fido Amante
Chi più d' infelice e degno
Io il vinto, o il vincitore.

Duetto, M. Moricheli and Sig. Morelli. *Haydn.*

Eurice. Quel tuo vidrio Amabile
Propria mi fa bagnar,
Sento nel petto un fpafimo
Che non fo fo ritir
Ma tu fiarbetto e grazioletto
Ren lo comprendi meglio,
L' intendi che voglio dir
Tu fofpiri to rimiri
Mi vuoi bene non tatda.
Ah eh ih ih oh,
Il cavolo ed il Padrone,
Per amor in conclufione,
Non di poffono fpezar,
Eurice. Per amor in conclufione,
Più mi dezzi mi influenzar.

Song, Madame Moricheli.—*Paiſiello.*

RECITATIVE.

Crudele, or cofei piangi
Che fpiraghi in ftella e fi tragitto fui!
Mifera Dido, ma più mifero Alcino!
Tutto perdefti, che il refta a fperar!
Con' il defino auttero
Ingannarmi cangiò d' afpetto!
Quello è il più ne, quello il contento
Alli laffi, che ad Alceo promeretti
Amore, Apollo, tutti dal Ciel
Che in trionfo, in fafto, in erano,
Afpettra e pur!
Per pietà! mi trafforma
Era follero d' un difperato cor
Perchè non vivi, muori,
Il corfo a troncar de mali miei
Ahi! troppo fui tutto credei to fel
Ho perduto il bel fembiante
Più non trovo alcun rifloro
Ho perduto il mio teforo
Le mie ritrifte, oh dio dov' è.
Quelli ruenti, il quelle pianto
Sempre rubrenti i miei lamenti
Chi più vide tua fi ventura
Terminerà al par di me.
Dafne mia fellce amante
Vili ogni ora a te d' appreffo
Odiarer tutto, odio me ftefio
Che avrà in fin di te.

New Scene, Madame Banti.—*Haydn.*

RECITATIVE.

Revenire che fia!
More il tuo bene
Bingiolo, e tu non corri
Oh dr pr ecilla ? ricorro pallo
Un prieto nel fiume
Infolito tremor tutto le vene
Ecgran pena il fuo prio il pid folfiene
Dove fon? quel confolo fallo d' alto
Tutte fanelle adombra
La mia ragione, Vezzo Deuterio! Il veggo
Che in atto di ferir—ferauti vivi
D' antiguo in fenli del core
Ad onta vidora giurargli di
Dirò che l'amo mifero me
D' alcuno il giorno bolena il Ciel!
L'amo irritata, i voler mentanti fpergiuri
Abbiol lafciato ch' io fuccorra il mio ben
Barbari Chi tra m' impedire
E intanto forfe un colpo imperverfo
Ah ferire cortenti, fcende ucciso
Afcett.. anima bella ombre compagne
A Lete andrem fe non potei falvarti
Parch fedel, ma tu mi guardi, e parti
Non partir bell' idol mio
Per quell' onda
Ah! altra fponda
Voglio anch' io paffar con te
Me infelice che fogo! Che ragione!
Dove rapita fono
Del turcente crudel de miei martiri
Mifera Berenice ah to deliri
Perche fi tarti fiete
Che defirir mi fete
Perchè non m' uccidete
Affanni del mio core
Crudeste ah Dio crudeste
Finchè mi porga alta
Con mi fcrivi la vita
L' orrello del dolor.

The Subscribers to the Opera Concert are refpectfully informed, that the two remaining Subfcription Concerts will be on the 11th and 18th of next Month, (the 25th being Whit-Monday).

. At the requeft of a very great number of the Subfcribers, there will be Two additional Concerts upon *Wednefday*, the 27th of May, and *Wednefday*, the 3d of June, (the Concert of Antient Muſic being over on the 26th of May) for which nights two feparate Tickets will be delivered for One Guinea; and the Subfcribers to this Concert will have a preference for themſelves and their friends until the 18th of May after which the Subfcription will be open for the Public. — At thefe Concerts Mr. FERLENDIS, from Venice, will play (for the firſt time in this country) upon the Englifh Horn.

This is a programme for Haydn's benefit concert on 4th May, 1795 at which the "London" Symphony was first performed. An eye-witness wrote his comments on the margin. Albi Rosenthal, London-Oxford.

one changed the Donaueschingen MS. When the change entered the sources and if it was with Haydn's approval, we cannot say; at any rate, we find it in Salomon's trio arrangement, in his quintet arrangement, and in the Birchall print. The whole thing is, of course, a huge joke. The music begins yet again with the accompaniment, but it seems as if the soloist – in this case the flute – has forgotten to come in; and when he does, there is the dissonance in the strings who seem to be blissfully unaware of what is going on above them. The next time, they "get it right". Possibly this was a joke which did not come off. But since it was obviously what Salomon and his orchestra played at the first performance, there seems no reason to accept the change, which was certainly made later and is, until better evidence is uncovered, of doubtful authenticity. At the end, this village band makes another mistake: the horns come in with a pedal point too early (bar 154), sitting placidly on octave "D", although there is a dominant seventh harmony a bar later. It was the kind of Austrian humour which did not go down well in the old *Reich* (Germany). Beethoven was to remember all this tomfoolery when writing the peasants' dance in the "Pastoral Symphony" wherein the oboe comes in on the wrong beat. Schindler tells us[9] ". . . Beethoven asked me if I had noticed how village musicians would often fall asleep while playing, sometimes let the instrument sink and not play for a while, then wake up with a start, make a few hearty blasts or blowings at random, yet usually in the right key, and then go back to sleep again . . . There were dances in which the 3/4 measure suddenly gave way to a 2/4 bar. In the 1820s I still used to hear such dances in villages within a few hours' distance of the capital, such as Laab, Kaltenleutgeben, Gaden, and others." In the Trio of the "Clock" Haydn has given us a delightful view of such a village band in the 1790s – complete with sleepy strings, delayed entrances, wrong entries and hurdy-gurdy effects.

The *Finale* lays excellent claim to being the greatest symphonic last movement of Haydn's career. It is pre-eminent even in a series of twelve scintillatingly brilliant finales. Formally it is the descendant of No. 94's effervescent *Finale* except that No. 101 hardly has any second subject; everything is based on the main theme. In the dominant the place of the second subject is taken by a pure derivative of the first. The music starts developing immediately. In the following *tutti* (still in dominant) we notice that under the glittering series of quavers in the first violins, the basses of the orchestra are pounding out the first three notes of the main subject. We return to a slightly varied restatement and then comes perhaps the most impressive of all Haydn's many "minore" sections in a finale. This one is ferocious beyond all expectations, its enormous energy assisted by furious quavers throughout, sometimes in the middle parts, sometimes on the top. It starts out like a real "C" section but by the time we are in the relative major the first theme emerges from the boiling mass of quavers. And attentive listeners will have heard that the flutes, oboes, bassoons, horns, trumpets and timpani have a direct quotation, though only rhythmic, of the main theme when the minor section begins: which for a time only the kettledrums sustain – another of many instances when Haydn assigns important functions to this instrument, the effective qualities of which took on an entirely new dimension in Haydn's late symphonies. After this display of D minor we would expect a restatement; but no, Haydn has in store for us a *fugato* based on the main theme, which rushes away *pianissimo* in a long section full of *Midsummer Night's Dream* fantasy – an inspiration which was to have a profound effect on Mendelssohn.

The *fugato* spreads into a large-sized orchestral *tutti*, with the countersubject in the clarinets and lower strings with bassoon. After a last farewell to the main theme (with the usual "farewell" tonic pedal point and $I\frac{6}{4}$ – I natural $\frac{7}{5}$ harmonies)[10], there is a rousing conclusion and, incidentally, Haydn's last use of an old and much-loved symphonic device: to end the movement with three repeated chords preceded by a rest (and a cadential formula). There are finales of greater monothematic tension (such as No. 103's), of greater wit (such as No. 102's), of greater contrapuntal dexterity (such as No. 95's): but none in which all these elements are combined with such fantastic virtuosity, such real *panache*, as in the "Clock's!" *Vivace*.

[9] *Beethoven as I knew him* (MacArdle-Jolly), London 1966, p. 146.

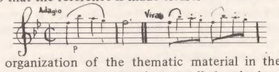
Symphony No. 102 in B Flat (1794)

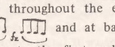
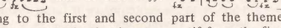
No. 102, the first of the three Symphonies for the Opera Concert of 1795, was composed the previous year. In many respects this great work opens a whole new avenue of symphonic thought which hardly anyone except Beethoven – certainly not Schubert – chose to explore. The principal element, not new in Haydn's previous *oeuvre* but hardly exploited to this extent hitherto, is the enormous sense of concentration, thematic, motivic, orchestral, formal, with which No. 102 is infused. This is not to say that No. 102 is necessarily shorter than its fellows (though in fact it is slightly shorter than its numerical partners, Nos. 101 and 103) but that Haydn is working so tightly with his material that the overall impression is one of brevity. No. 102 is also Haydn's loudest and most aggressive Symphony, at least in the outer movements. In the opening *Vivace* there are stretches of *forte* that continue for bars at a time, and all at a very high level of tension. Except for the repetition of the main subject in *piano* (upbeat to 31-37), the exposition runs *f* from bar 23 (with upbeat) for the next fifty bars, until the second subject enters; and there is a similar stretch from the middle of the development, bar 192 *ff.*, which except for a tiny interruption just before the recapitulation (mainly to bring in a huge timpani *crescendo*) continues to the second subject at bar 263. As if to balance this *forte* display of tension, the slow movement introduces tension of another kind, with the dynamic level muted (also literally, in the trumpets) but with, if anything, an increase in the feeling that the music gives us of vast, unleashed power held tightly in check. It is a movement with many levels of emotion, and one of the most complex slow movements Haydn ever wrote. But although Haydn repeats the first section of the *Adagio*, the movement as a whole shares the intellectual compression of the outer movements. Here, too, is concentration on the highest level. Altogether this Symphony might be considered the most intellectual and certainly the most powerful of the London series. Sir Donald Tovey thought it, No. 104 and the Quartet in F Op. 77 No. 2 Haydn's greatest instrumental works. Some critics, indeed, consider No. 102 Haydn's greatest Symphony.

Haydn made few significant changes in the texts of his Salomon Symphonies when he returned to Austria in the Autumn of 1795, but it just happens that there are a number of such alterations in this work. A word must be said in preface to Haydn's changes which he liked to make in the original performance material. Much of this material for the late works has survived, *e.g.* for the *Creation* and the last six Masses, also for parts of the London Symphonies (*e.g.* the wind parts of Nos. 102-4 in Donaueschingen Castle, which are written by Johann Elssler on British paper with the watermark 1794). Many of these alterations – the additional phrasing, *staccato* mark and, especially, an accent *fz* – are found only on the parts and not on the autograph. In the case of the changes in No. 102, Haydn took the considerable trouble to enter them on the autograph manuscript. The first of these changes is in the orchestration of the introduction, one of Haydn's greatest and most profound. Many critics have been struck by the similarity in feeling between this *Largo*, with its unison opening (marked with a *fermata* and a "hairpin" dynamic mark < >), and the beginning of the *Creation* also a *Largo* (the Description of Chaos). There is the same feeling of great space, of cosmic loneliness (perhaps, really, Haydn's view of eternity through Herschel's giant telescope). Originally Haydn scored these two for the gaunt, monkish sound of horns, trumpets, timpani and strings (bars 1 and 6). This is the sound which greeted the audience at the Opera Concert when the Symphony was first performed but also the only way British audiences heard the work for many years. As it happens, the Donaueschingen performance material of this work contains not only the wind and timpani parts on 1794 British paper but also the strings, so that we have as it were an authentic record of No. 102 as performed by Haydn in London in 1795. We also have the Birchall print which follows the London tradition. When Haydn returned to Austria, he added the wind parts for this opening (and bar 6), carefully scratching out the rests in the autograph and inserting the appropriate notes. Since he never took the trouble to tell Salomon of this change, the Birchall print gives us the unchanged London version. Although there is much to recommend the original London version of these bars, we have deferred to Haydn's later wish and printed the score as he changed it (in the new critical edition for the Haydn-Mozart-Presse and Philharmonia).

[10] The "farewell" aspect of the harmonies is not only because it is the last entrance of theme and has these typically Haydnesque progressions, but it also recalls a real farewell scene in a Haydn opera, namely the last act of *Le pescatrici* (1769). There, we find the same pedal point as Eurilda and Lindoro prepare to set sail. See the piano score (Universal Edition), pp. 319 *f.*

The introduction continues with the following five notes which appear later in the middle strings and then in the basses. During the *Vivace* Haydn seems to touch on the outline of the five notes in the very theme itself but later quotes it exactly, much accelerated of course, at the end of the exposition (bars 72 *ff.*) and later in the recapitulation: there it is in the tonic. Each time this little phrase is repeated several times so that the reference is made clearer:



The organization of the thematic material in the *Vivace* shows a power and concentration equalled only by the first movement of Symphony No. 88 (1787). Haydn achieves the unity and diversity of his subjects by contrapuntal means, as he had done in No. 88/I. The first subject has a powerful upbeat, which Haydn accents in the second part of the opening phrase with a *fz*. The interplay between the accented upbeat and the natural stress of the first beat is exploited by Haydn throughout the exposition; in bars 39 *ff.* we find  and at bars 49 *ff.*  corresponding to the first and second part of the theme. In the bridge passage to the dominant, a motif from the first subject is worked into an inner part with itself and its inversion, and this corresponds to what is going on above and below this motivic transformation, namely a six-note phrase which is presented simultaneously with its inversion in the bass line.

We have noted that dance-tune quality of the second subjects in the first movements of Symphonies Nos. 99 and 101. Here in No. 102 we have a different kind of second subject. If those in Nos. 99 and 101 were marked by strong upbeats as opposed to the square on-the-beat quality of their first-subject partners, here in No. 102 the same principle in reverse is observed, *viz.* strong-on-the-beat accents for the second subject. But whereas the second subjects of Nos. 99 and 101 were designed to release some of the tension generated by the previous part of the exposition, here in No. 102 the opposite obtains. Full of tension though the first subject and its extension were, the second increases the tension. Partly this is the huge contrast between *ff* and *p*, partly it is the automatic on-the-beat accents and partly the use of rests.

The development is a new milestone in the history of sonata form. Many of Haydn's earlier developments had reached high levels of tension, but nothing quite to compare with this. For one thing, the *forte* character of the main subject necessitates its being presented at the recapitulation in the rôle of a conqueror. Thus by its very nature it required a different approach than the witty, *piano* themes such as figured in other sonata movements with striking development sections such as Nos. 88, 92 or 100. In No. 102, the two widely contrasting themes are interwoven in a deadly serious combat, which reaches a climax in the D minor canon. Even the main subject is stripped for battle. If all this material was first examined intellectually in the exposition it is now treated dramatically in the development. The second subject is given wide scope here, as wide as the tonal field on which all this drama is enacted (C minor → E flat → dominant of F minor → A flat → B flat minor → C minor → D minor → G minor → C minor → C major → C minor → modulation back to the recapitulation). As the tension mounts, we may observe the means by which Haydn produces his battle. Rhythmic acceleration is one such device; the second subject is speeded up to prepare the way for the moment of greatest motivic tension, a closely worked canon which begins in D minor. The momentum stops by means of a grand pause at bar 184, and the first subject now comes in C major, *piano*, which is broken off by the orchestra in a *ff tutti*. This *tutti* carries the music slowly towards B flat major and the recapitualtion, a phenomenal tribute to Haydn's ability to start the tension increasing all over again after such a climax as the canon. But Haydn's sense of broad structure is of an unfailing genius in this movement and indeed throughout the Symphony. And just when the music seems not to be able to stand any more pressure from within, Haydn abates the dynamic level, introduces a long drum roll (four bars) with a *crescendo* and propels the music over the top and into the recapitulation. In order not to break the dramatic tension, Haydn simply skips the *piano* repetition of the main subject – which in any case we have just experienced in C major in the development – so that the music can continue to roll forward in one unbroken *forte* wave to the gates of the second subject. Here are the off-beat *forzati*, too, that will colour the whole of Beethoven's writing, and the virtuoso treatment of brass and timpani (bars 243 *ff.*)which will create *scuola* for the next fifty years.

Haydn also used the *Adagio* as the middle movement of the F sharp minor piano Trio No. 40. There is something special about the symphonic movement in Haydn's entire *oeuvre*, and this extends even to the autograph manuscript, which has its own otherwise blank title page with only the word "Adagio" in Haydn's hand; at the head of the actual music is "In Nomine Domini" with which he was accustomed to begin his manuscripts. We now come to a very important later (Austrian) addition to Haydn's score, namely the use of mutes for the trumpets and timpani. These signs ("Con Sordini" for the trumpets and "Con Sordino" for the "Tympani" which Haydn usually wrote in the singular, "Tympano") are missing from the Donaueschingen parts on British paper and also from the Birchall print, and unless Haydn then gave instructions to the effect orally, they are later additions. Mozart, when requiring mutes for Idomeneo in Munich, found difficulty in obtaining them and had to write to Salzburg to get them; the chorus "O voto remendo" includes parts for muted trumpets and muffled drums (for that is what the term "con sordini" means for the timpani; in some cases, the word "coperti" was used). Haydn incidentally can hardly have heard *Idomeneo*, which apart from the Munich première (and the following performances) was only given privately at the Palais Auersperg in Vienna during Mozart's lifetime. Like Mozart, Haydn may have found it difficult to organize the necessary trumpet mutes in London. The mutes, in any case, alter the character of the instruments completely, giving them a rather sinister, snarling tone which is very startling. As he often does with exotic instrumental effects, the muted trumpets and covered drums do not enter immediately: they are held back until the repetition of the first section. At one point (bar 56) the trumpets hold a single note (middle C) after the rest of the orchestra has stopped playing, a strange jet of dark colour. The use of muted trumpets and covered timpani in a symphony is one of Haydn's most daring orchestral innovations. It seems to have been an Austrian speciality.

The movement is a free variation form of a kind as unique

in Haydn's symphonies as the orchestration (of which more later). The formal freedom is such that although on paper the *Adagio* looks perfectly normal, in practice it sounds like a rhapsody or, as the composer often called such movements, "Capriccio". Part of this rhapsodic atmosphere comes from the eccentric theme, with its constant rhythmic displacements; part comes from the equally eccentric orchestration; part from the harmonic range, which surpasses anything that Haydn had written in a symphony; and part comes from the exaggerated dynamic marks – orgies of *crescendi, decrescendi, forzati,* little accents, and so forth. The score sometimes looks like a work written fifty years later. The formal scheme is as follows:

A^1 A^2 A^3 A^4
I → V I → V ♭III (flatted mediant major) → I + coda

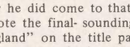
Haydn scores the first "A" section (16 bars) for flute, oboes, bassoons and strings. In the middle of bar two, our ears are assailed by a new sound, a solo violoncello which soon begins to establish for itself a brooding series of triplets which give still another shade of dark to a colour already opaque and misty. One notes, too, that the wind instruments are used in a very full and free fashion, so that the shades of the orchestra all run together to form a vague and blurred painting. The sense of dark-hued yearning that this extraordinary *Adagio* calls forth reminds one – if there is such a thing as a visual transfer of music to painting – again and again of the humanity, subtlety and tenderness of Watteau.

One can almost sense the tramping Bruegelian wooden feet in the heavily symphonic *Menuet.* It is altogether fascinating to observe how Haydn manages to retain the dance character as well as making his minuets thoroughly symphonic.

The Trio looks forward far into the nineteenth century: its doubling of the oboe and bassoon at the octave with the first violin in between is Brahmsian. The rôle of the flute, which only plays a cadential drop of the third, reminds one of the *ars combinatoria* permutations. It is a curious effect and also slightly unsettling, like the permutations in the Trio of Mozart's "Jupiter" Symphony.[11] What is this *commedia dell'arte* clown doing at this stately, beautiful dance? The clown, at any rate, is no more comic than Watteau's *Gilles.* In this quietly persuasive Trio, we feel that Haydn, like Watteau himself, is "tendre et peur-être un peu berger" . . .

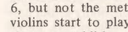
The similarities between Beethoven's Fourth Symphony in B flat and the present work are many and on a deep level. Their two Finales are also much alike, even to the slowing-up of the main theme just before the end. They are also part of the great *opera buffa* tradition, which had such a profound and decisive effect on Haydn's symphonic style in the middle 1770s. No. 102's *Finale* is high comedy, and its success is perhaps the more surprising if one considers that the movement caps one of Haydn's most learned and serious symphonies.

Formally it is a sonata-rondo, that is with the "development" starting in the tonic, and it is almost completely monothematic. There is a kind of second subject which is accompanied by repeated quavers in the manner of a "parlando" Italian aria (bars 78 *ff.*, 234 *ff.*). It is even funnier the second time, when Haydn has the trumpets holding a fifth through the texture, only to break into *fz* as they hold the notes:



It is pure *buffo.* Since the effect of much Italian comic opera rests on the unexpected, this aspect of such a Finale is most important. Even the way the main subject gets to the dominant, *via* D minor, is entirely unexpected and amusing. The chattering woodwind in the "B" section of the a-b-a opening is also *opera buffa.* Later the theme even stutters, first at bars 109 *f.*, where the middle strings first have

before the second violin starts out in earnest with its pattern of semiquavers



Then the music hiccups before the main theme comes in the second time:

The "chattering" woodwind part is now reinforced by timpani (bars 140 *ff.*), which adds a Falstaffian swagger to the whole. In the "development" section, the music touches A major for a moment. It seems that it was this passage that inspired the Viennese correspondent of the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* to write the following note, dated Vienna, 1 May 1799: ". . . Haydn once again directed two brand new [ganz neue] Symphonies at Count F's [Fries] that are very interesting. They are among his finest but are so atypical that one is dumbfounded by the composer's extraordinary powers of invention. The following is especially to be relished. The rondo theme of the one begins in B flat, modulates very easily into A major within a few bars and closes again right afterwards just as easily in B flat" (Jahrgang I, col. 544). Pohl III (148) thought the correspondent meant "As dur" and not "A dur", *i.e.* A flat, and that the Symphony must have been No. 98, where the solo violin enters at the beginning of the development in A flat. Edward Olleson[12] thinks No. 102's *Finale* must be meant. What is interesting is that the Symphony was so unknown in Vienna in 1799.

In this "development" (which we place in quotation marks because it is really more of a pseudo development), there is a mock *fugato* on a derivative of the main subject, and then the two violins chase each other into the recapitulation, which Haydn deliciously varies by marking the first violins' entrance with a whiplash *fz*. The stuttering reaches a climax just before the end. The music slows down (the *ritardando* is written out in the score) and leaves the first violins to play a slow-motion phrase of the main subject. It is the next thing to Shakespearian humour, and even the sentimental *piano* repetition of the *ff* and *fz* passage has a poise and grace to it that is like the end of an Elizabethan comedy.

As the music hiccups ( ) and stutters its way to the end, even the kettledrums tap out the first three notes of the main theme ; just as they had done at the end of the first movement. It is the most sensational of all Haydn's "joke" finales, and we have completely forgotten how the Symphony began. The solemn profundity has turned to midsummer madness, just like an oft-quoted Swedish description of Haydn himself, with his lightening-swift facial changes from serious to humorous. Symphony No. 102 is a miniature autobiographical sketch of its composer; it contains in its four movements the quintessential Joseph Haydn.

Symphony No. 103 in E flat (1795)
"Drum Roll"/"Mit dem Paukenwirbel"

As Haydn was composing Symphony No. 102, he may have come to the momentous decision to stop writing symphonies after the 1795 season was finished. It is significant that he firmly resisted all offers to write a symphony after 1795, even the charming invitation from the Concert des Amateurs in Paris of 1802. But whenever he did come to that decision, it was probably before he wrote the final- sounding "The twelfth I have composed in England" on the title page of No. 104's autograph. It is perhaps not too far-fetched to consider the last three Symphonies in this light of finality: in each, Haydn intended to display another facet of his seemingly endless inventiveness. In No. 102 we have a Symphony which starts out as a serious, learned work and ends up with a display of Haydn's symphonic *opera buffa* technique. The slow movement was a daring experiment in new orchestral timbres. In No. 103 we have a number of novel experiments, too: the construction of a slow introduction connected to the main body of the movement in a fashion more complex and at a deeper level than any eighteenth century symphony except Mozart's K. 543 in the same key; the composition of a monothematic finale of a tighter construction and a more relentless unity than any movement before the first of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony; and the conscious use of popular tunes throughout. The dance-like quality of the first subject is carried a step further in the popular cast of the second, with its um-pah-pah accompaniment. In the *Menuet* there is even the imitation of a yodel. The themes of the second movement are profoundly eastern European, and whether they are in fact Croation, Hungarian or Gypsy is in a sense immaterial to the Symphony. The theme of the *Finale* has also been traced as a folk song from Croatia. The point is Haydn's integration of them into the language of the international classical style, just as robust Hungarian dishes found favour with the fastidious Viennese aristocracy, they were a piquant change from the everyday fare. And there is one last detail in this Symphony that sets it off from its numerical fellows: the extended violin solo, probably written for the distinguished leader of the Opera Concert Orchestra, Giovan Battista Viotti, with whom Haydn was on friendly terms. It is written, however, to delight the leader of any band, since it displays his tone, his musicianship and his good taste rather than any sort of empty virtuosity.

The introduction starts with a timpani roll. It is one of the most original beginnings of all symphonic music and we can well believe the correspondent of the *Morning Chronicle* that it "excited the deepest attention". Haydn marks the drum roll "Solo" and "Intrada" but assigns no dynamic mark to it. Nor does the London performance material at Donaueschingen (the timpani part is on British paper, written by Johann Elssler in London in 1795). Obviously there has to be a dynamic mark, but its complete absence here and at the repeat near the end of the movement suggests that Haydn may have left the dynamic "interpretation" up to the performer. But what did the Viotti Orchestra play? The arrangement for piano trio by Salomon has < >, and this "hairpin" has become the traditional way of performance. On the other hand, Salomon's quintet arrangement, which also exists in his autograph, has *ff*, presumably followed by a long *decrescendo.* When this reading was first adopted in modern times by the late Hermann Scherchen in 1950, it proved enormously effective. Charles Rosen (*op. cit.*, p. 348) disapproves of our having incorporated this *ff* reading into the main text of the new edition, giving the hairpin as an alternate reading. He prefers the "hairpin" version and adds, "if the new edition is surely unwise to accept the *fortissimo* attack suggested by the piano quintet arrangement of 1797, it is certain that the timpanist should make this a very long and effective roll." Probably no further source material will come to light to clarify the matter, and conductors may at present choose between Salomon's two oddly contrasting versions.

Without knowing the score, and listening to a performance with closed eyes, no one could possibly tell the metre of the opening: *(see opposite page fig. 1)*
It is as mysterious as the "Be fruitful" passage from the *Creation,* but also full of foreboding; the oblique reference to the "Dies Irae" plainchant may not have struck Anglican audiences, but it was clear to the Catholic world, and of course Haydn's earlier symphonies have the occasional reference to Gregorian chants (*incipit Lamentatio,* and so forth). The wind band chord clarifies the tonal world of the introduction at bar 6, but not the metre, which remains formless until the two violins start to play at bar 14; and even then it takes some time to establish a clear triple time.

The integration of this extraordinary *Adagio* into the main *Allegro con spirito* proceeds at several different levels. Just before the second subject is introduced, we find a passage which reads as follows: *(see opposite page fig. 2)*
It takes us a while to realize that this theme is a speeded-up version of the opening notes of the introduction. Haydn places is squarely in context by having it follow in the recapitulation immediately after the whole introduction is brought in; and then we recognize it immediately, not least because it is now in the tonic: *(see right fig. 3)*

In the middle of the development there is a half-cadence on the dominant of C (bars 107-111); it is sufficiently insistent to make us remember the end of the introduction, also a half-cadence on the dominant of C. Haydn then proceeds to bring in another speeded-up variant of the opening bars: *(see right fig. 4)*
After the second subject in the recapitulation, the music changes mood in a series of tremolos which become increasingly sinster and menacing, dying away in questioning diminishing chords; whereupon the introduction itself enters. It is as dramatic as the last act of *Don Giovanni,* and another astonishing innovation, as new as the grim timpani roll that announced the "intrada" once again.

Haydn originally marked the double variation slow movement *Andante* but later added *più tosto Allegretto;* he made this change long after having left England, because all the London sources have only *Andante*, and so do the Continental MSS. and prints. This double variation, in alternating minor amd major, drops the clarinets entirely; Haydn's players in London were patently not the best, and we shall see that even in the transmission of the sources there are problems with the clarinets which suggest strongly that these players were the weakest link of the 1794-5 British orchestras.

We now come to the problem of the melodic origin(s) of the two principal themes in this movement. Obviously we are forced to rely on the evidence of nineteenth-century researchers, since (as we have pointed out earlier) the peasants who used to sing such tunes no longer do so; villages in Hungary, where Kodály and Bartók found old people who could still remember the ancient folk-songs transmitted orally from generation to generation, now have other problems and different songs. The industrial revolution and two great wars have almost wiped out the living tradition of eastern European folk-song, despite the frantic efforts by the authorities to stem the tide. We learned some of the difficulties of tradition *versus* the demands of modern life on a long tour in the Roumanian provinces in the Autumn of 1960; one could see the old and noble traditions crumbling before one's eyes, defeated by the wireless, the tractor and the collective farm. We may mourn this passing of a perhaps Europe's greatest, certainly its most original, folk-song tradition, but our mourning is of necessity historical. With such totally altered social and economic conditions, how could one hope to keep alive (except artificially) a folk-song tradition hundreds of years old which was grounded in forgotten wars, long forgotten invasions and (almost) forgotten feudal life.

Unfortunately, nineteenth-century researchers did not have the scientific accuracy or the impartial sympathy of a Bartók or Kodály. National prejudices and anti-Austrian (=anti-Imperialist) feelings coloured many of their findings. The Croatians tried to make Haydn a Croatian, the Hungarians a Hungarian. It was stupid and unhistorical, but these researchers were caught up in a process over which, to some extent, they had no control. But the entire evidence of a Kuhač can hardly be dismissed out of hand. There is no doubt that the south Slavonic peasants did sing melodies extremely similar to those of No. 103's slow and final movements; just as there is no doubt that the whole *ductus* of the first subject is profoundly, completely "eastern European". The raised F provides a melodic line which is part of the Balkans' life-blood (E flat to F sharp to G and back again). Thus we can do nothing else but present the evidence as assembled by Kuhač in his monumental "South Slavonic Popular Songs" and translated by Sir W. H. Hadow's little Book.[13]

Kuhač established that the first subject of No. 103/I is Croatian (Kuhač III, 92; Hadow 46), and that the two melodies of No. 103/II are based on two folk-songs of the Oedenburg district, "Na Travniku" and "Jur Postaje" (Kuhač III, 100 *ff.*, Hadow 46). Oedenburg (Sopron) was the nearest large town of the Eszterháza district, and there are in the whole region Croatian, Hungarian and German villages. The two melodies are very similar and may derive from some common melodic root, now unknown.

An interesting point of orchestration is that Haydn relies heavily in both melodies on the bottom *contra-C* of the cellos and double basses, which once again proves that either he had five-string double basses with low C as the bottom string, or they tuned the three-string basses differently. This old-fashioned orchestration is perhaps connected with the use of the old folk-songs. As the movement progresses, the orchestration, curiously, gets more and more modern, almost as if Haydn were escorting the old tunes through music history. *Maggiore II* (bars 85 *ff.*) is the elegant violin solo, while *Minore III* brings in the trumpets and kettle-drums for the first time in this movement. By now Haydn also always connects their entrance with some kind of surprise; it was a simple but always devastatingly effective device. *Maggiore III* is enchantingly orchestrated, with the "toy music" that we remember from the "Military" Symphony. From this point to the end, the music remains in C major. There occurs in this section perhaps the largest deceptive cadence in Haydn's career. After a big *tutti*, there appears to come one of his beautiful, sentimental endings – over the tonic pedal point we remember so well from similar passages (such as in No. 97/II). At the very last minute the music modulates into E flat and the whole mood is broken. It is another of Haydn's jokes, and it is well prepared, the arrival in E flat being preceded by a *crescendo* which grows across two bars and arrives *fortissimo.* The final statement of the *maggiore* section has not only the murmuring bass line but an enormous timpani roll, also with a *fz* at the beginning of each bar. The whole movement strikes one as a (highly successful) attempt to write another "Military" march-like movement which would bring the house down: for this reason the sentimental journey was broken off and we end with the rousing fanfares. We note once again the delicate balance between the very learned and the very popular. The first movement was a complicated formal structure filled with popular tunes, but still a serious movement on an unprecedentedly complex scale. The second movement is directly "popular" but uses exotic eastern European melodies; it is so exotic that one expects to have the clarinets in C and the Turkish instruments of No. 100 – but that would have been a lesser composer's trick. Haydn was content to show to himself – because no one in London can have known the original melodies and only a few experts will have caught the "Slavonic" twist of the raised fourth or the pentatonic construction of the second subject – how exotic eastern European tunes could serve to make an unabashedly popular set of double variations. In short, Haydn had done it again. The sheer abundance and fertility of his last three Symphonies will have astounded both connoisseur (like Dr. Burney) and the general public alike. No one had ever written such a series of symphonic works which were instant successes with Press, public and *Kenner.*

By the time we reach the *Menuet* (the clarinets rejoining the band), it is clear that in some respects we are dealing with a folk-song symphony. If it is true that Haydn attempted to display his art in three final supreme efforts, it may be that this concentration on genuine popular melodies in No. 103 is quite deliberate. For here we have a genuine Austrian yodel: *(see above fig. 5)*

Haydn presses the point home when, just before the first double bar, the "yodel-rhythm" of bar two appears isolated in second clarinet, bassoons and horns, followed by its repetition in the upper woodwind. The joke is made even more explicit when the yodel is turned gracefully into "art-music" and used as an elegant modulation to C flat major. (For the violins the composer adds the extra warning, "legato".)

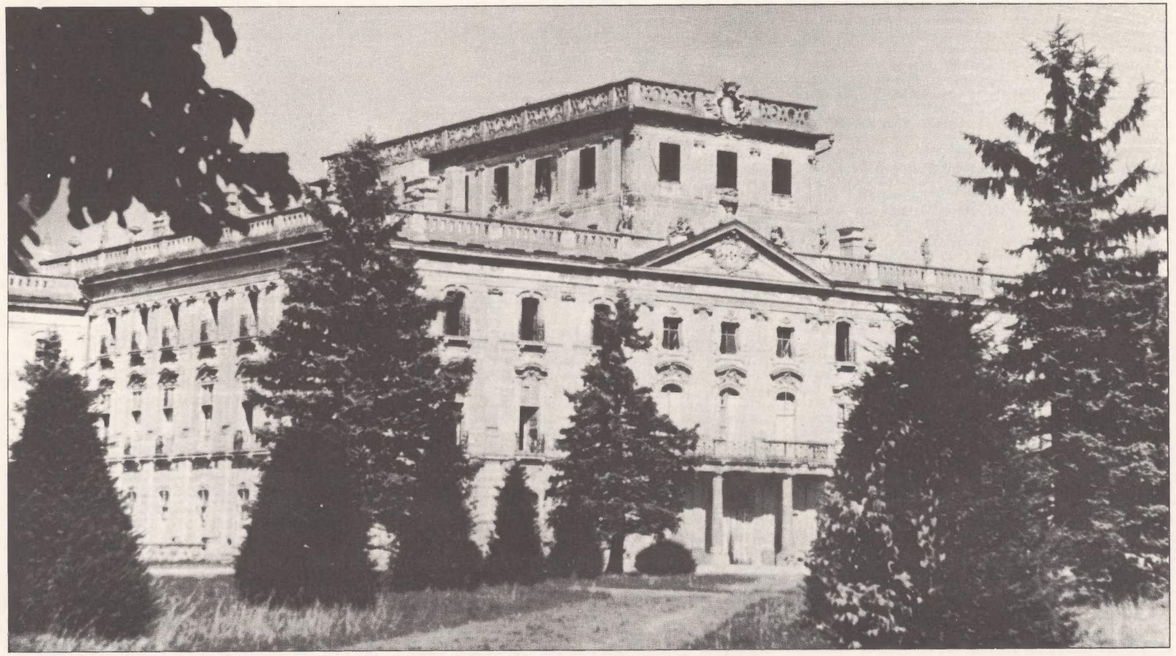
The Trio was a unique opportunity for the clarinets to display their tone. Though Haydn is very cautious to double them with violins, the effect is very characteristic none the less. But something went wrong somewhere. The early German editions simply drop the clarinets in the Minuet entirely, and we shall see that in those editions the clarinets are very defective elsewhere in the Symphony. Were the London clarinet players unable to cope with these parts in the Trio? Haydn, interestingly enough, did not change the autograph, and we also have part of the London performance material (including, as it happens, the clarinets) copied out by Elssler in 1795 and later sent with newer string parts to Donaueschingen Castle.

The *Finale* is without doubt one of the great *tours-de-force,* formally speaking, of Haydn's career: the creation of a long movement on a single theme in which our interest never flags; on the contrary, it is a *Finale* of unusual tension and strength. It is difficult to select details from a movement in which all

[11] See Leonard G. Ratner's interesting article, *"Ars combinatoria:* chance and choice in eighteenth-century music" in *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Music: A Tribute to Karl Geiringer on his Seventieth Birthday,* London 1970, p. 359.

[12] "Haydn in the Diaries of Count Karl von Zinzendorf", *Haydn Yearbook II* (1963-4), pp.56 f., where Zinzendorf hears a concert at Count Fries' on 5 April 1799. "Le Concert dans un beau salon très sonore. Toute la ville y etoit . . . Symphonie de Haydn . . ."

[13] F. Kuhač: *Josip Haydn i Hrvatske Narodne Popievka,* Zagreb 1880; W. H. Hadow: *A Croatian Composer, Notes towards the study of Joseph Haydn,* London 1897 (reprinted in W. H. H.'s *Collected Essays,* London 1928).



This is the great palace of Eszterháza when it had fallen into disuse and partial ruin.

the parts are so magnificently fashioned, but perhaps one seemingly insignificant one will show how carefully the fabric is constructed. Part of Haydn's great success, and later Beethoven's in movements that generate this kind of tension is the rhythmic acceleration that accompanies a passage in which the tension is built up. Beethoven's Eight Symphony has recently (by Cooper and Meyer) been selected for a brilliant analysis along these lines. We will confine ourselves to one quotation: the ending of the Symphony in the timpani part (which by the way is quite different from the cello and bass line). Here one can see in a few bars how meticulously Haydn handles even this lowly member of the orchestra to increase the tension as the Symphony draws to an end:

(see previous page fig. 6)

It is the kind of detail that Beethoven certainly did not miss. It is also the sort of highly sophisticated craftsmanship that almost always distinguishes the work of a great musician, great painter or great sculptor. *Deo Matematico . . .*

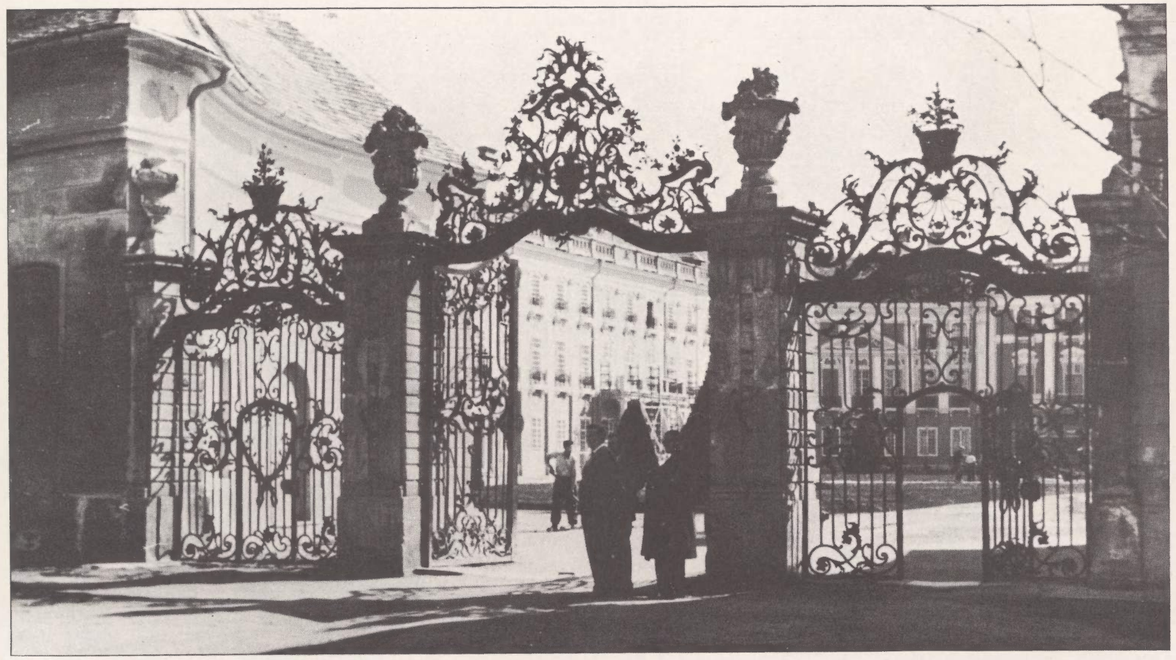
Symphony No. 104 in D (1795) ("London"/"Salomon")

It was not on the whole a typically eighteenth-century practice to attempt a motovic or melodic interrelationship between the various movements of a sonata, a quartet, a trio or a symphony. The very attempt at diversity would seem to preclude such a procedure. But as the eighteenth-century drew to a close, we can observe a conscious attempt to make instrumental works more cyclic, though it may be doubted if many of Haydn's and Mozart's efforts were as cyclic as modern analysis tends to suggest. In Mozart's last four symphonies, however, there seems little doubt that he attempted to create a deeper element of unity within each work, achieved as one might expect by melodic, motivic and intervallic means. We have seen in the foregoing analysis of the Salomon Symphonies that Haydn was also at pains to unify this music in such a manner. The last London Symphony is without question the most spectacular example of such a procedure in a Haydn symphony. Here the interrelationship is fixed by three principal intervals, the fifth, the fourth and the second. These are established with the greatest possible emphasis in the fanfare that begins the Symphony. It is quite obvious that the close intervallic relations between all the movements cannot be fortuitous. We may easily recall those of the principal subjects, but the student will soon see that there are many more throughout the work. The whole has what the Germans call a "quintig" or "fifthy" character, which is often made more apparent by the accompaniments. It is a remarkably early attempt to produce an entire Symphony round three intervals.

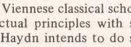
Perhaps the introduction is the greatest of all those in Haydn's symphonies. It has an inevitable, inexorable quality about it which is only really apparent after the first movement, and indeed the whole Symphony, has been heard. Naturally it establishes the intervals; it also "sets up" the opening theme, which appears in a much more important context following the stern D minor beginning. Never was a Haydn *Adagio* more vital to the construction of the whole. The lead into the *Allegro* is made more important by adding the Neapolitan sixth after the unexpected drop, not to the fourth A but to the fifth G.

The main theme is in the great "singing *allegro*" tradition of the Viennese classical school, in turn a synthesis of northern intellectual principles with southern (Italian) vocal melodies. Since Haydn intends to do so much with the opening theme, or at least a part of it, the second subject is postponed to the very end of the exposition; instead, almost the whole of the first subject appears in the dominant (bars 65 *ff.*). This "epilogue"-like quality of the second subject, here and elsewhere in Haydn's works, has always slightly puzzled critics, coming as it does so late in the formal scheme, almost as if it were an afterthought. It is very much an integral part of the subtle increase and decrease of stress, however, and is carefully designed to "ground the tension" (Rosen) of the opening subject. It does this by being very much off-the-beat (also the accompaniment) and by being much more of a popular cast; it is postponed because the development will immediately start the first subject's tension again and will continue it, almost without a break, till the recapitulation. It is just long enough to divide the exposition's earlier tension with the even greater tension of the development.

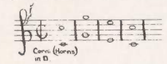
The development has always been much admired, for its



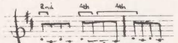
Eszterháza during restoration, beginning to show its former grandeur.

overall "sweep" and also for the concentration of its motivic basis (the six notes, bars 19/20, of the first subject) – though of course other elements of both subjects are used, too. The little theme at the end of the second subject is combined with an accompaniment which, although it is only four repeated crotchets to each bar, contrives to sound like a derivate of bar 19. This illusion is fostered by the bassoon which plays (120 *ff.*).  Even repeated thirds in the second violin (bars 139 *ff.*) can be seen to come directly from accompanying parts of the exposition (bassoons, bars 50 *ff.*). As far as the "sweep" is concerned, Haydn achieves this by slow-moving modulations: B minor, F minor, C sharp → E minor, B minor, dominant of D. Almost the whole section is, as we see, in minor keys, an obvious foil to the predominantly major construction of the exposition and recapitulation. The symmetry of the development is an echo of the introduction, where the music went from D minor to F major and back to D minor – a self-contained harmonic element. In the development the centre of gravity shifts to the submediant, and that is the principal key until just before the recapitulation. In both introduction and development, the music goes away from the harmonic centre and returns to it A. It is harmonically the same inexorable pattern established by the whole tone of the introduction. The top of the modulatory arc in the development is when Haydn returns to B minor from E minor, and at the crucial juncture the timpani enter for the first time since the end of the exposition. (There is also a *ff* here for all instruments in Birchall's print, but no sign of the *ff* in the autograph or Donaueschingen; it is a sensitive and sensible dynamic addition, but did Haydn make it? Or is it the kind of thing he "conducted" and was later transmitted to us by Salomon? The *ff* is also in the Salomon trio arrangement.)

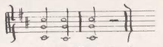
The sense of development is continued in the recapitulation. It is not only that even the main theme is wonderfully varied by giving the second group of eight bars to solo flute and oboes, but the whole previous scheme is profoundly changed. Following the appearance of the second subject, the first is yet again brought in to take the place of the little codetta in the exposition. The last bars concentrate on the fifth interval, the horns sounding out the skeleton of the whole in semibreves:



This was immediately preceded by the following:



The last three chords of the movement are in D without any third, another skeletal presentation of the fifth:



The simplicity of the *Allegro's* formal pattern and its effectiveness, are obvious. The following *Andante*, one of Haydn's best loved and most admired, is equally simple: a-b-a[1] A (tonic major) B (tonic minor) A[1]. Haydn was aiming for the grandeur that comes with absolute formal simplicity. The main subject is orchestrated only for bassoons and strings; it has become so much a part of our musical heritage that we have forgotten what a perfect example of Viennese grace, warmth and craftsmanship it is. The contours are just irregular enough to be new and interesting; the *fz*, which happens twice in the first eight bars, break the symmetry but add two new points of stress where, without them, one would tend to accent, if only slightly, the next quaver, *i.e.* the beginning of bars 3 and 7. The little codetta (bars 33 *ff.* quoted above) over a tonic pedal point is in itself a tender farewell, which Haydn will enlarge to heart-breaking dimensions at the end of the movement. "B" is a "minore" section, excitingly and mysteriously introduced by the main subject in minor: the *tutti* then breaks in with D minor and is, in a word, overwhelming. Never, perhaps – not even in the magnificent "Clock" *minore* – has a contrast of this kind in Haydn been prepared with more finesse and executed with more effect. Later, there is a bar of silence when Haydn reaches what ought to have been the cadence of his modulation to B flat; and this "gran pausa", too, is

immensely effective. In the recapitulation of the "A" section there occurs one of the composer's grand flights of imagination. It is this kind of "leap forward" into time that caused the distinguished German writer and musician E.T.A. Hoffmann to equate Haydn with "romantic music". It is, in fact, the great link between *Wiener Klassik* and *deutsche Romantik*; it made the change from Haydn to Weber less abrupt than we perhaps realize. Rosemary Hughes writes so perceptively about this passage that it would be a pity to use any words but hers. After the apparently normal recapitulation, "the opening melody . . . suddenly floats clear of the earth in an effortless modulation into a remote and luminous region somewhere between A flat and D flat, hovers there for a while, then clouds over enharmonically into C sharp minor, and quietly spirals down again through F sharp (major and minor) into the calm and steady daylight of the home key." At the end the little cadential passage mentioned above (bars 33 *ff.*) is expanded into a coda of sudden poignance. Perhaps it was very hard, after all, to say farewell to one of music's greatest forms . . .

The *Menuet* establishes the gay tone that will predominate for almost all the remaining music of the Symphony. The *fz* accents of the main theme are almost as pointed as in Gypsy music. But withal it is highly symphonic. There is an innovation that rounds out all the timpani effects of the Salomon Symphonies: a long *crescendo* that begins *pp* and propels us with great excitement back into the *reprise*. At the end of the first phrase there had been a long trill in the melody instruments, but also, incredibly, in the first horn (playing, however, sounding E^1 since it could not negotiate C sharp). This trill now assumes the character of a huge joke. It stops the music dead and then continues, twice as large as life, to round off the final cadence. We are in the grotesque world of comic opera, and a combination of Hanswurst and Harlequin at that.

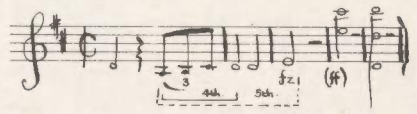
The Trio, lightly scored (flute, oboes, bassoons, strings), is like a half-remembered country dance, "tendre et peut-être un peu berger", with a lilting upbeat which for some odd reason manages to sound nostalgic and far-away. It is in the flatted submediant (B flat) but has as a coda a beautiful modulation back to D major and the *da capo*.

The Croatians claim the melody of the *Finale*, with its drone bass and the characteristic repeated notes of bars 10 (and 18). Kubač says it is "commonly sung" by the Croatian colony in Eisenstadt and also in Kopház near Eszterháza. In point of fact there really are Croatian villages, even today, in the district between Oedenburg (Sopron) and Eszterháza; E.F. Schmid names Homok (Amhagen) and Hidegség as well as Kophaz (Kohlnof). In the last century since Kuhač produced his monumental research, this tradition has all but died out in these Croatian villages; and it is unlikely that the traveller today would hear Haydn's melody in the local inn. Similarly, Eisenstadt was until very recently surrounded by villages with predominantly Croatian population. Schmid names Trauersdorf, Oslip, Stinkenbrunn, Zillingtal, Wulkaprodersdorf, Siegendorf, Zagersdorf and Klingenbach. Haydn really can have heard such a melody there and imported it to London.

But there is an English tradition, for which we can locate no evidence, that the tune is a London street cry, variously identified as "Hot Cross Buns" or "Red Hot Buns". We know that Mrs. Papendiek mixed up several of the Haydn-Salomon concerts in her memoirs. She says that at the opening concert of the 1791 season, Haydn conducted a new symphony. "One of the movements was to imitate the London cries, and 'Live cod' was to be traced through every instrument that could produce the effect. The cry began the piece and ended it, and Salomon was wound up to a pitch of enthusiasm beyond himself. The applause was great." At the first concert of 1791, the two candidates for the "new" Symphony were No. 92 (which cannot have incorporated "Live cod", having been composed in Hungary in 1789) or 96, which is not known to have any such cry. Can Mrs. Papendiek mean the *Finale* of No. 104? "Through every instrument that could produce the effect" may be an oblique reference to the fact that the horns finally get the melody at bars 221 *ff.* And the movement really ends with the "cry", if it is one: bars 309 *ff.* We put all this vague and contradictory evidence before the public without being able to offer a word of encouragement. Even if we think that the tune sounds Balkan, with its repeated notes, it may after all have originated with the fishwives in London.

Whatever its origins, it is a down-to-earth melody with a real drone bass such as Haydn had used with great effect in the Trio of Symphony No. 88. As the broadest possible contrast there is a long lyrical theme as the second subject, the phrasing of which is widely different from the small-segmented opening tune. There is also a closing subject. This is, then, a sonata movement on a very substantial scale, with a development section which starts auspiciously by combining effortlessly the first and third subjects in double counterpoint. The lead-back to the recapitulation turns out to be another one of Haydn's journeys through time. Using the second subject, Haydn moves in slow motion (but in strict tempo: the *ritardando* is fully written out) from C sharp minor to F sharp minor. The latter key is never touched in root position so that Haydn can by a deceptive cadence slide into the recapitulation.

Haydn seems to linger sentimentally over this movement. Any excuse will do to prolong it: a little episode for the first flute and oboes – the last "toy music" a diversion in minor (bars 287 *ff.*). But the time is up, and in a last *tutti*, broadly spaced, with the timpani thundering out the tonic pedal point in quavers, Haydn brings to a close this music, of which it might be said, like the Florence Cathedral, that it was evidence of a heart expanded to much greatness. The last bars, *Deo Matematica*, are the fourth, the second and the fifth.



The autograph closes: *Fine Laus Deo.*

The Salomon Symphonies are published, edited by the present writer, in full scores and parts by the Universal Edition (Haydn-Mozart Presse); and in miniature scores as Volumes XI and XII of the Philharmonia Series (Universal Edition) of the Complete Haydn Symphonies (also separately); in the bound volumes, there are detailed notes on the textual problems of the sources.

Vienna, March 1974

H. C. Robbins Landon

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